Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-181
Wednesday
18 September 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-181 *18 September 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

President Alia Signs Helsinki Final Act *[ATA]* 1
Alia Speaks on Meaning of Helsinki Act *[ATA]* 1
Alia Signs Paris Charter, Meets Mitterrand *[ATA]* 2
Alia Speaks on Yugoslavia *[TANJUG]* 3
Cameria Discussed at Moscow CSCE Conference *[ATA]* 3

BULGARIA

Itinerary of Zhelev's U.S. Visit Reported *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Deputy Prime Minister Receives USSR Official *[DUMA 12 Sep]* 4
Slovene Foreign Minister Arrives on Working Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Popov on Meeting With Macedonian Prime Minister 4
Both Countries Desire Cooperation *[BTA]* 4
Military Matters Not Discussed *[BTA]* 5
Greek Claim of Foreign Policy Differences Refuted *[BTA]* 5
Interior Minister: 'Only Criminals' Phones Tapped' *[BTA]* 6
Foreign Observers Invited To Monitor Election *[BTA]* 6
Hostile Chanting, Scuffles at BSP Sofia Rally *[BTA]* 6
BSP Concerned About Rights, Freedom Movement *[BTA]* 6
DPS's Dogan Denies Secret Agent Allegations *[BTA]* 7
Leader of DPS Makes Campaign Statement *[BTA]* 7
BSDP Leader Interviewed on Future Government *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 12 Sep]* 7
'Club of Repressed' Withdraws From SDS *[NOVINI 12 Sep]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Walesa: 'Poland Needs a Strong Czechoslovakia' *[PAP]* 9
Havel, Walesa Assess Results of Deliberations *[Prague Radio]* 9
Calfa, PRC's Qian Discuss Economic Reform *[Prague Radio]* 10
Deputy Prime Minister Vales 'Disgusted'; Resigns *[Prague TV]* 10
Havel, Calfa Criticize 'Unjust Attacks' on Vales *[Prague Radio]* 10
Calfa Views German Treaty, Federation Issues *[Prague TV]* 11
Slovak Leaders Cite Objections to German Treaty *[Bratislava Radio]* 12
Defense, Security Committees View Arms Exports *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 13 Sep]* 13
Western Military District Reorganization Reported *[RUDE PRAVO 13 Sep]* 14
Agriculture Figures Reveal 'Critical' Situation *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 12 Sep]* 14
Unemployment Statistics Issued for August *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 12 Sep]* 15

HUNGARY

Foreign Ministry Demands SFRY Respect Border *[Budapest TV]* 16
EC Observers Invited *[Budapest Radio]* 16
'Relative' Calm Reported *[Budapest Radio]* 16
Serbian Gunmen Block Pipeline *[MTI]* 16
47 SFRY Soldiers Cross Border *[MTI]* 16
Antall Views Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 17
Horn: U.S. Lacks 'Excessive Interest' in SFRY *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Katona Addresses Assembly on Forces Agreement *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Assembly Ratifies Agreement *[MTI]* 18
Protesting Farmers Block Border Crossings Again *[Budapest Radio]* 18

Ministry Ordered to Purchase Surplus Wheat *[MTI]* 18
Finance Ministry Official Reviews 1992 Plans *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 13 Sep]* 18

POLAND

Ministry Uneasy Over Lithuania Remarks *[Warsaw Radio]* 21
Walesa Makes Personnel Changes in Chancellery *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 12 Sep]* 21
Party 'X' Registrations Annulled *[PAP]* 21
Liberal Democrats Finalize Election List *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 12 Sep]* 21
Democratic Party Chairman Zamoyski Interviewed *[SLOWO POLSKIE 7-8 Sep]* 21
Article Discusses Special Government Powers *[SLOWO POLSKIE 7-8 Sep]* 23

ROMANIA

Foreign Ministers Nastase, Qian Comment on Talks *[ROMPRES]* 25
Poland Dissociates Itself From Transylvania Study *[ROMANIA LIBERA 14-15 Sep]* 25
FSN's Efforts To Win Elections Viewed *[DREPTATEA 12 Sep]* 26
PNTCD Calls For Resignation of TV Leadership *[DREPTATEA 12 Sep]* 26

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

President Mesic Reaffirms Plans To Step Down *[TANJUG]* 28
International Telephone Lines Disrupted *[TANJUG]* 28
Presidency Official Comments on Mesic Letter to UN *[TANJUG]* 28
Mobilization Drive Launched in Parts of 4 Republics *[TANJUG]* 28
Naval Order Institutes Naval Blockade of Some Ports *[TANJUG]* 29
Air Force Command Confirms Two Aircraft Shot Down *[TANJUG]* 29
Air Force Denies Bombing Zagreb *[TANJUG]* 29

International

France on European Military Involvement in Crisis *[TANJUG]* 29
Tudjman Comments on Igalo Talks, Cease-Fire Agreement *[TANJUG]* 29
Serbian Foreign Minister Comments on Igalo Agreement *[Belgrade TV]* 30
Danish EC Observer Wounded in Zagreb *[Belgrade Radio]* 30

Slovenia

Unemployment Increases 70 Percent *[Ljubljana Radio]* 30

Croatia

Croatian Defense Minister Bebic Resigns *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Tudjman Dismisses Commander of Territorial Force *[TANJUG]* 31
Tudjman News Conference on Cease-Fire *[Zagreb TV]* 31
Croatian Forces Claim Two-Thirds of Army Barracks *[TANJUG]* 33
Air Force Raids Osijek Industrial Facilities *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Vukovar 'Almost Completely Destroyed' in Fighting *[TANJUG]* 33
'Real War' in Varazdin; Gospic Air Attack *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Vukovar 'Citizens' Down 4 Planes, Destroy 70 Tanks *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
'Demented Yugo Generals' Attack Valpovo, Belisce *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Croatian Spokesman Confirms Zagreb Air Raid *[Zagreb TV]* 34
Army Helicopters Approaching Zagreb *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Air-Raid Alert Declared Throughout Croatia *[TANJUG]* 34
Air Force Damages Mt. Kalnik Transmitter *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Air Raid Warnings Continue in Croatian Towns *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
All-Clear Sirens Sounded in Zagreb, Split, Sisak *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Air Raid Sirens Sounded for Third Time in Zagreb *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Army Aircraft Bomb Slavonski Brod *[Zagreb Radio]* 35

Zagreb Radio Urges Citizens To Take Shelter *[Zagreb Radio]* 35

Serbia

Serbian Foreign Minister Opposes Peace Force *[London TV]* 35
Jovic Predicts More Fighting in Croatia *[Belgrade TV]* 36
Army Launches 'General Offensive' in Dalmatia *[TANJUG]* 36
Reporter Describes Intensified Vukovar Fighting *[Belgrade Radio]* 36
Air Force Claims Successful Croatia Operations *[TANJUG]* 37
Croatian Guard Forces 'Routed' in Dalmatia *[TANJUG]* 37
Reform Forces President Comments on Crisis *[NEPSZABADSAG 16 Sep]* 37

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Wants EC To Extend Observer Activities *[TANJUG]* 38
Bosnian Citizens Protest Attack from Slavonia *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Bosnia Pronounces Krajina Autonomy Illegal *[TANJUG]* 39
Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija Proclaimed *[Sarajevo Radio]* 39
Leader of Bosnian Serbs Optimistic About Peace *[Sarajevo Radio]* 39

Macedonia

Council Bans Army Reserve Mobilization *[TANJUG]* 40
Policy Rejects Participation in Conflict *[TANJUG]* 40

President Alia Signs Helsinki Final Act

AU1709114591 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 17 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, signed the Helsinki Final Act at the "Finlandia" Hall in the Finnish capital on September 16. Prior to the signing ceremony those present were greeted by the president of Finland, Mauno koivisto. In his speech he said:

16 years ago "Finlandia" Hall was the place where the ceremony of the Helsinki Final Act was signed by the heads of the 35 CSCE member states. In the years after 1975, the implementation of the Final Act became the symbol of the demands for peaceful changes and human rights. At the same time, the CSCE ideas served the historic transition of our continent recently. At present Europe is witnessing common values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. At the same time Europe is facing fresh challenges, although our common aim is to secure and unite Europe, so that the all continents feel secure, fully enjoying the rights as human beings. Today I have the pleasure to welcome you as witnesses in "Finlandia" Hall to see the signing of the Helsinki Final Act by His Excellency the President of Albania Mr. Alia. I assess the signing as a formal confirmation of Albania's membership to the CSCE. Albania has been a full member since June last year. I wholeheartedly welcome Albania as full member to the CSCE, to the family of nations with the same rights and duties as the other members.

Then the Finnish president invited President Ramiz Alia to sign the Helsinki Final Act. After the signing the floor was taken by President Ramiz Alia who said among others:

With the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, Albania may consider itself, from all points of view, an equal member of the new European family. This constitutes an event of historic importance for my country. The signing of the Helsinki Act once more confirms solemnly the commitment of the Republic of Albania regarding the democratic transformations, the observation of human rights, political pluralism and the application of the profound reforms to establish the market economy.

Albania has already a multi-party parliament that has emerged from the free democratic elections, the stability government, in which the main 5 parties of the country are represented. Our committment to march on the road of democratisation is stable and irreversible.

Allow me, on occasion of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and on behalf of the Albanian people to express my heartfelt thanks and greetings to you, Mr. President and the Republic of Finland, to all the European countries, the USA and Canada, for having endorsed Albania's full membership to the CSCE. This support is at the same time an encouragement and impulse for the speeding up and deepening of the process of democratisation in Albania.

Later on President Ramiz Alia gave a press conference for the foreign journalists who are in Helsinki on this occasion.

Alia Speaks on Meaning of Helsinki Act

AU1709181791 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 17 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, arrived in Finland on September 16. The Albanian president and the persons accompanying him were welcomed at Helsinki Airport by the minister of foreign affairs of Finland, Paavo Vaerynnen and other personalities.

The president of Finland, Mauno Koivisto, received the president of Albania, Ramiz Alia, at the Presidential Palace in the afternoon.

We welcome your visit, the Finnish president said. We are happy that Albania confirmed the participation to the CSCE. It is a pleasure for us that it is Finland that organizes the solemn ceremony. There is not any problem between Finland and Albania in their relations. This is a positive sign indicating that all possibilities exist to forge them ahead. Albania's political opening is a guarantee to cooperate with the other international organizations, especially with the economic ones.

I want to thank Finland, President Ramiz Alia said, for the support rendered to Albania regarding Albania's admission to the CSCE. This is an historic event that will powerfully influence the promotion of democracy in our country. The signing of the Helsinki Act will confirm Albania's determination to march forward on this path. Then the Albanian president made an expose of the political and economic situation in Albania. Albania has switched from one system onto another, from the single party rule onto a multiparty one. All of them have their own importance.

The CSCE has created the necessary climate for the observation of the human and [word indistinct] phenomena which run counter to this spirit. In this framework, the president spoke on the Yugoslav crisis and the violation of the rights of the Kosovo people. We are interested in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, not only in ensuring peace in the general aspect, but particularly for the fact that there live an Albanian population whose number equals that of Albania. The Albanians of Kosovo should have their say on how to overcome this crisis.

The Finnish president thanked the Albanian president for the expose and voiced his confidence that Albania will successfully overcome the difficulties.

President Ramiz Alia invited him for a visit to Albania.

He accepted the invitation with pleasure.

The president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, signed the Helsinki Final Act at the "Finlandia" Hall in the Finnish capital, on September 16. Prior to the signing ceremony those present were greeted by the president of Finland, Mauno Koivisto. In his speech he said:

Sixteen years ago "Finlandia" Hall was the place where the ceremony of the Helsinki Final Act was signed by the heads of the 35 CSCE member states. In the years after 1975, the implementation of the Final Act became the symbol of the demands for peaceful changes and human rights. At the same time, the CSCE ideas served the historic transition of our continent recently. At present Europe is witnessing common values of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. At the same time Europe is facing fresh challenges, although our common aim is to secure and unite Europe, so that the all continents feel secure, fully enjoying the rights as human beings. Today I have the pleasure to welcome you as witnesses in "Finlandia" Hall to see the signing of the Helsinki Final Act by his excellency the president of Albania, Mr. Alia. I assess the signing as a formal confirmation of Albania's membership to the CSCE. Albania has been a full member since June last year. I wholeheartedly welcome Albania as full member to the CSCE, to the family of nations with the same rights and duties as the other members.

Then the Finnish president invited President Ramiz Alia to sign the Helsinki Final Act. After the signing the floor was taken by President Ramiz Alia who said among others:

With the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, Albania may consider itself, from all points of view, an equal member of the new European family. This constitutes an event of historic importance for my country. The signing of the Helsinki Act once more confirms solemnly the commitment of the Republic of Albania regarding the democratic transformations, the observation of human rights, political pluralism and the application of the profound reforms to establish the market economy.

Albania has already a multiparty parliament, that has emerged from the free democratic elections, the Stability Government, in which the main five parties of the country are represented. Our commitment to march on the road of democratisation is stable and irreversible.

The new democracy in Albania needs support. The transition period from the former system, rigorously centralized and relying on the state property, onto a new system, on that of the market economy, is accompanied with many difficulties of economic, political and social character. We hope that to overcome them with less possible pains, the necessary aid and support will not lack on the part of the European countries, the U.S.A., and Canada.

The democratisation of the international relations and the inclusion of all the European countries of the road of democracy have created a new framework of cooperation based on the use of peaceful and democratic means for solving the aroused problems, be they inherited from the past or new ones. We are determined to observe these principles, which are reflected in a synthetic way in all the acts adopted during the CSCE process. From this angle we hail the endeavours made for the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Albania is greatly interested in the fact that the peoples living in Yugoslavia, the three million Albanians included, enjoy all national and human rights, the rights to have their free say whenever and wherever on their future, the right to self-determination in conformity with the UN Charter, the Helsinki Act, the Paris Charter, etc.

Allow me, on occasion of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and on behalf of the Albanian people, to express my heartfelt thanks and greetings to you, Mr. President and the Republic of Finland, to all the European countries, the U.S.A. and Canada, for having endorsed Albania's full membership to the CSCE. This support is at the same time an encouragement and impulse for the speeding up and deepening of the process of democratization in Albania.

Later on President Ramiz Alia gave a press conference for the foreign journalists who are in Helsinki on this occasion, where he said among others that certain historic circumstances made Albania be the last country to join the successful process initiated in this capital. But at the same time, the Albanian people has drawn lessons from the process of democratisation that has swept our country, that the ties and cooperation with all countries serves as condition for ensuring freedom, democracy, the observation of human rights and social welfare.

The Albanian people have fully and finally committed themselves to the human and democratic values fixed in the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is precisely for this reason that I am here to affirm, on behalf of the Republic of Albania, the irreversibility of the democratic processes, and the full observation of the commitments stemming from the CSCE documents.

To the importance of the Helsinki document, I would add also the visit of the first Albanian president to Finland.

President Mauno Koivisto gave a dinner in the evening in honour of President Ramiz Alia.

Alia Signs Paris Charter, Meets Mitterrand

AU1709211291 Tirana ATA in English 1827 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 17 (ATA)—On September 17, the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, arrived in Paris. The solemn ceremony for signing the Paris Charter was organized in "La Salle d'Horloge."

Attending were the French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, officials of the Foreign Ministry and representatives of the press. In his address, the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, said:

After signing the Helsinki Act on September 16, it is a special pleasure for me to sign today on behalf of the Republic of Albania the other historic document, the Paris Charter. The Albanian people is fully committed in the process of CSCE, of human and democratic values. It is fully swept over in the current political European developments which lead to the integration of our continent. The adherence of our country to the CSCE is closely linked with the changes that have taken place in Albania. The Albanian people is resolutely marching on the road for democracy, being convinced that this is the sole road for their future. The processes taking place in Albania do not aim at merely restructuring the old system, but we want and work to establish a new system, resting upon the freedom of individual, political pluralism and market economy. The Albanian state, with the changes in the political fields and legislation, with the pluralist parliament which emerged from the free and democratic elections is taking the shape and content of a civilized state.

President Ramiz Alia thanked the participants in this ceremony considering it an expression of respect and support of their countries for Albania and its democratic development.

The French minister, Roland Dumas greeted in this ceremony.

On September 17 afternoon, at 1800 President Ramiz Alia met in the Elysee Palace with the French president, Francois Mitterrand.

Alia Speaks on Yugoslavia

LD1709230791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2153 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Paris, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Albanian President Ramiz Alia said in Paris on Tuesday that the situation in Yugoslavia was threatening to turn into a war zone very dangerous both for the region and for Europe.

Alia said his country "supports the efforts of the European Community for finding a just solution to the Yugoslav problem through negotiations."

After talks with French President Francois Mitterrand, Alia said he hoped the voice of Albanians would also be heard in the future negotiations on Yugoslavia's future and that "their humanitarian and national problems" would be resolved.

Cameria Discussed at Moscow CSCE Conference

AU1709180191 Tirana ATA in English 0939 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 17 (ATA)—In the plenary sitting of the working group of the Third CSCE Conference on Human Dimensions held on September 16, the floor was also taken by the Albanian representative, Kadri Cenko, who briefed the audience on the situation of national minorities in Albania and the policy currently pursued towards them. He pointed to the commitment of the National Stability Government to guarantee the human rights and devoted a special attention to the improvement of the situation of national minorities in the territory of the Republic of Albania. He said further on that the members of these minorities, just as the other Albanian nationals, have been deprived of many fundamental rights. Anyhow, these minorities are compact in the zones they live in, they have undergone no move or modifications of demographic structure and have not been object of assimilation. After mentioning some of the rights these minorities have enjoyed in Albania, the delegate laid the stress on the measures adopted in the context of applying the CSCE norms and the obligations deriving from them.

The Albanian delegate dwelt particularly on the Cam issue and reminded the Greek delegation of the fact that a considerable part of the Albanian autochthonous Orthodox and Moslem minority used to live in the region of Cameria. Further on he said that the Orthodox Cam population still live there even today, but they are subjected to a constant assimilation, whereas the other part particularly the Moslem one has experienced a real tragedy at certain moments of history. It has been subjected to deportations, massacres, persecutions, and illegal expropriations. He expressed his worry that neighbouring and friendly Greece with which Albania continues to have good relations still considers this problem nonexistent, although it has been treated in the context of bilateral relations even at the highest level meetings.

At the end, Kadri Cenko also tackled with the issue of Albanian economic immigrants to Greece, who, he said, have often become an object of discrimination on an ethnic and religious basis. He asked the conference to attach attention to the aforesaid issue and called on Greece to recognize these realities.

For his part, the Greek representative reacted with regard to the questions raised by the Albanian delegation, considering the Cam population as collaborators of fascism and preserved the right to turn back to this question again.

The conference continues its proceedings.

Itinerary of Zhelev's U.S. Visit Reported

AU1809091091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Report by Valentin Stoyanov, presidential spokesman]

[Text] We promised to report more details on the visit of President Zhelyu Zhelev to the United States. This is what Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president, told us by telephone:

[Stoyanov recording] At the invitation of the governor of Ohio and the (?Citicorp) U.S. businessmen's association, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria, will pay an unofficial working visit to the United States from 18 to 22 September. The main meetings and talks will take place in Washington and Cleveland.

On 19 September the president will give a news conference at the National Press Club. Afterward he will have meetings with congressmen and a meeting at the Free Congress Foundation.

On 20 September Dr. Zhelev will meet U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle. Afterward he will depart for Cleveland.

In Cleveland, Dr. Zhelev will give a speech, which will be carried live by the media. He will visit economic enterprises and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

On 21 September the president will visit [name indistinct] in Virginia, where he will meet Laurence Eagleburger. On the same evening in Washington, Dr. Zhelev will have dinner with Richard Rahn and Jeane Kirkpatrick.

On 22 September Dr. Zhelev will depart for Bulgaria.

During his visit to the United States, Dr. Zhelev will conduct talks on U.S. investments in Bulgaria and on the political and economic situation in Bulgaria and the Balkans.

The president is accompanied by Mrs. Mariyana Todorova, deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

Deputy Prime Minister Receives USSR Official

AU1709111691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Sep 91 p 3

[DUMA PRESS report: "Ludzhev Receives Three Documents From USSR Embassy Representative"]

[Text] On 11 September, Vladimir Ivanisov, minister plenipotentiary and adviser at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, handed Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy prime minister, a decree on the measures resulting from the statement of the USSR president and the higher leaders of the union republics and the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet session; a law on organizing the state power and the USSR administration during the transitional period; and a declaration on human rights and freedoms.

During the meeting, the possibilities of resolving the problems that have accumulated in bilateral relations under the conditions created by the unsuccessful coup were discussed, the Press Center of the Council of Ministers reported.

Before the meeting with the Soviet diplomat, Dimitur Ludzhev received Tadeusz Vasilewski, the newly appointed Polish ambassador to Bulgaria. A new bilateral Bulgarian-Polish treaty was discussed.

Slovene Foreign Minister Arrives on Working Visit

AU1809104991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Report by Boris Chakurov, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

[Text] On 18 September, Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel arrived in Bulgaria on a brief working visit.

He proceeded straight from the airport to a meeting with his Bulgarian counterpart, Viktor Vulkov. The talks between the two foreign ministers ended a short while ago. What else will the Slovene guest do in Bulgaria? Boris Chakurov, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reports:

[Chakurov recording] The program envisages a meeting with Dr. Zhelev at 1200. In the afternoon, there will be a meeting with Mr. Filip Dimitrov and Prime Minister Dimitur Popov. At 1730 the guest will depart.

Popov on Meeting With Macedonian Prime Minister

Both Countries Desire Cooperation

AU1709171191 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Report by Ognyan Branichev: "At Last Bulgaria and Macedonia Meet"]

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Popov, prime minister of Bulgaria, and Dr. Nikola Kljusev, prime minister of Macedonia, who is on a one-day visit to this country, share the opinion that today's meeting was an expression of the two countries' desire for cooperation.

"Bulgaria has no territorial claims on its neighbours," Prime Minister Dimitur Popov stressed, confirming Bulgaria's firm position during his talks with the guest. Mr. Popov assured him that the Bulgarian Government backs up the democratic processes in Macedonia. He reminded that Bulgaria expressed support for Macedonia's independence as early as at the beginning of this year, although it was aware of the fact that its position might displease some neighbouring countries.

"The Bulgarian Government will not yield to any anti-Macedonian sentiments," Mr. Popov said. "We wish that there were no anti-Bulgarian elements in Macedonia's position either," Mr. Popov went on to say.

"Persons trying to obstruct the promotion of bilateral relations are not tolerated in Bulgaria either. We want to maintain good relations with all states but not at the expense of third countries," Mr. Popov stressed.

Mr. Popov expressed his concern over the situation in Yugoslavia and over the fact that a state army is killing its own people. "Bulgaria does not interfere in Yugoslavia's home affairs, it offers no prescriptions for the country's future state system," Mr. Popov said.

Dr. Kljusev said that he sees a future Yugoslavia as a union of six sovereign republics. According to him, the formation of a mini-federation, which may degenerate into "Serboslavia," is out of the question. "If necessary, Macedonia will defend its independence with all its might," he said.

In Dr. Kljusev's opinion the sovereignty and independence of Macedonia has alarmed some neighbouring countries and restored the spirit of the relations among the Balkan countries from the time of the Balkan Alliance War and World War One. "The thesis of the formation of a "Skopje" state does not deserve attention," Dr. Kljusev said.

"Macedonia has no territorial claims on any of its neighbours," Macedonia's prime minister pointed out. He said that the Macedonian Government intends to draft laws which would guarantee the existence of the state "without borders and visas."

The Governments of Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia will work to activate their cooperation in the field of economy, commerce and culture, it was stressed at the talks. Until the act on Macedonia's independence comes into force, Bulgarian and Macedonian experts will work on the preparation of future agreements. The governments will not obstruct the establishment of contacts between economic units of the two countries.

The Bulgarian side expressed its desire that the number of checkpoints on the border between the two countries be increased and that the requirement according to which each Bulgarian national should possess a minimum of 200 U.S. dollars on entering Macedonia be revoked, as it hinders the contacts between the two peoples. Dr. Kljusev said that Bulgaria's requests would be taken into consideration.

Military Matters Not Discussed

AU1709171391 Sofia BTA in English 1654 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—"I have discussed no military matters with the prime minister of the Republic of Macedonia," Bulgarian Premier Dimitur Popov said shortly before Dr. Kljusev's departure from Bulgaria. Mr. Popov told the press that the two countries have no grounds for such talks.

"The future Bulgarian-Macedonian relations will undergo significant changes," Mr. Popov said. He added that Bulgaria not only recognizes the sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia but will also affirm its statehood, as far as it is able to.

"Our talks were free from any political and ideological prejudice," Dr. Kljusev said. According to him, there are real opportunities for cooperation in railway and road transport, in metallurgy, the chemical and the processing industry and in trade.

Dr. Kljusev left for Bucharest where he will have talks on the forthcoming meeting of the Balkan countries' prime ministers in Athens.

Greek Claim of Foreign Policy Differences Refuted

AU1709131491 Sofia BTA in English 1222 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—Yesterday the Greek daily "TO VIMA" carried an article headlined "They Want Thessaloniki" which contains gross insinuations about imaginary differences between President Zhelev and Prime Minister Popov on questions of Bulgaria's foreign policy and specifically on the forthcoming meeting of Prime Ministers Popov, Mitsotakis and Roman and Serbia's President Milosevic in Athens, stated the Bulgarian presidential spokesman Mr. Valentin Stoyanov.

"I have been authorized to declare that President Zhelev and Prime Minister Popov have never had and have no differences on foreign political issues. It is common knowledge that in his televised interview on Saturday President Zhelev welcomed Mr. Mitsotakis's idea of these consultations. The Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian president have always been in favour of dialogue and understanding between the Balkan states. President Zhelev has pointed out many times that the excellent Bulgaro-Greek relations are a great achievement for both countries and may serve as a model for the other Balkan states," Mr. Stoyanov said.

"The claims of "TO VIMA" about non-existent statements of unidentified "presidential advisors" about differences between Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Popov are surprising and outrageous. A couple of conferences were recently held on the Greek island of Rhodes, they were organized by the Greek Foundation for Political Sciences and other international organizations and were attended by two of Dr. Zhelev's advisors: Gen. Stoyan Andreev, national security advisor, and Mr. Stefan Tafrov, diplomatic affairs advisor. Neither of them, however, has ever made any such statements during their stay in Greece, at the conferences or elsewhere, the least for "TO VIMA." Obviously, this daily is trying to draw

Bulgarian state officials into internal political disputes in this neighbouring country, which certainly does not contribute to the promotion of Bulgaro-Greek relations," the spokesman for the president concluded.

Interior Minister: 'Only Criminals' Phones Tapped'

AU1709205291 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—According to Mr. Khristo Danov, minister of the interior, "Telephonegate" showed the distrust in the ministry in his charge. Only criminals' phones are tapped in Bulgaria, Mr. Danov said. There is no political police and the former State Security was disbanded, he stated at a meeting with the Criminal Literature Club at the Union of Bulgarian Writers.

Foreign Observers Invited To Monitor Election

AU1709192691 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, National Assembly Chairman Nikolay Todorov and Central Electoral Commission Chairman Mladen Danailov have sent letters to representatives of different international organizations defending the values of democracy, parliamentarism and human rights to invite them to monitor the general and local elections in Bulgaria.

The letters are addressed to Mr. Andreas Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, who would appoint members from his organizations, and to Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Parliamentary Assembly, asking her to send representatives of the Standing Conference on Local and Regional Authorities in Europe.

Personal invitations have also been extended to Mr. Doumeni Columert, Switzerland's representative to the EC Parliamentary Assembly, Mr. Miguel Angel Martinez, representative of Spain, and to Tim Rathbon, representative of the United Kingdom. [names as received]

The foreign observers will be given the possibility to acquaint themselves with the election process in Bulgaria, they will have the opportunity of meeting voters and visiting any constituency they may wish to. The observers will also have access to polling stations and election results under the conditions prescribed by the Bulgarian law.

The forthcoming elections raise hopes for the further advancement of the democratic process, the assertion of parliamentary democracy and pluralism in political life and for Bulgaria's integration into Europe, it is said in the letters.

Hostile Chanting, Scuffles at BSP Sofia Rally

AU1709210691 Sofia BTA in English 1956 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held its first election rally in Sofia today at which its election candidates were presented.

The BSP will run in the forthcoming elections in a coalition with another seven parties. Mr. Konstantin Karadzhov, leader of the Christian Republican Party, and Mr. Vulkan Vergiev, leader of the Liberal Party, are on the list of election candidates. They were presented to the participants in the rally this evening. The other candidates on the BSP's list are Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov; Mr. Georgi Bliznashki, secretary of the Socialist organization in Sofia; Lawyer Yordan Shkolagerski, who lost to the leader of the Democratic Party, Mr. Stefan Savov, in last year's majority elections in Sofia; psychologist Dimitur Gronev, called "the Red shaman" of the BSP; and Mr. Georgi Pirinski, ex-deputy prime minister in Andrey Lukanov's cabinet.

The Socialists have changed entirely their tactics of holding rallies. In last year's election campaign there were too many speeches at the BSP's rallies. Music, ballet dancing and actors' performances predominated this evening. Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov made a speech appealing for a civilized election campaign and inviting his opponents to disputes.

A group had gathered to watch the BSP's rally and chanted "Red rubbish" again. The police intervened to cope with some scraps.

BSP Concerned About Rights, Freedom Movement

AU1709160991 Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—The Socialists are worried by the monopoly of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) headed by Mr. Ahmed Dogan in some regions, Mr. Filip Bokov, spokesman for the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), told journalists today. The BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces are practically non-existent in the areas populated by Turks. This may have unpredictable consequences for Bulgaria, according to Mr. Bokov. The Socialists hold information that the MRF is establishing its political monopoly by pressure in certain places. But Mr. Bokov did not give concrete details.

The BSP spokesman believes that this political monopoly of the MRF was the main reason for which the court refused last week to register the Rights and Freedoms Party set up by Mr. Dogan.

BSP Deputy Chairman Dimitur Yonchev believes that the MRF is acting as a destructive force. Ahmed Dogan had nearly achieved the registration of the Rights and Freedoms Party but he would not make the last efforts needed.

Mr. Dimitur Yonchev and Mr. Filip Bokov described the situation with the MRF as "delicate."

There are two Turks on the election lists of the coalition of the BSP and one of them stands a chance of being elected, Mr. Yonchev said answering a question.

According to the Socialists, the ethnic Turks can express their political predilections voting for the political parties existing in this country.

On Thursday at the latest the Supreme Court must rule on the appeal lodged by 54 MP's against the registration for the elections of the Rights and Freedoms Movement by the Central Electoral Commission. It is expected, however, that the court may take a decision earlier.

DPS's Dogan Denies Secret Agent Allegations

AU1709080891 Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 16 (BTA)—The leadership of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) is pleased with the "Central Electoral Commission's professional handling of the DPS registration for the October 13 elections." This guarantees one million voters their franchise, Mr. Ahmed Dogan told a press conference today. At the same time, the DPS leadership blamed some constituency electoral commissions of usurping rights of the Central Electoral Commission. The DPS leadership has information that the municipal electoral commissions in Rudozem, Madan, Karlovo and Suvorovo and the constituency commissions in Smolyan and Pleven have refused to register DPS candidates.

The DPS has nominated 140 candidates for the forthcoming elections, including 36 Bulgarians. The movement will run on a separate ticket. Mr. Dogan said that the relations between the DPS and the Liberal Congress Party are very good but they will have to run separately in the October 13 elections. The DPS will form a separate, centre-oriented parliamentary faction. The leader of the movement is convinced that a small or medium-size parliamentary faction is inefficient in solving the fundamental problems facing Bulgaria and that the DPS may act jointly with other political forces.

The platform of the DPS focuses on the consolidation of the Bulgarian people. The DPS will defend the citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms. The future parliamentary group of the DPS will seek first thing the solution of problems concerning the education of Bulgarians of Turkish origin, housing and unemployment.

The first school day was not boycotted, the leadership of the DPS maintains. The minister of education and representatives of the DPS will meet to discuss the issue of compulsory Turkish language classes at secondary schools, it was announced at the press conference. After these talks the Central Council of the DPS will publish an official stand.

In connections with the allegations that have appeared in the press about the leader of the DPS being a secret agent, Mr. Ahmed Dogan said that if someone can provide written evidence of this, he will resign.

Leader of DPS Makes Campaign Statement

AU1709211591 Sofia BTA in English 2021 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) believes that the ethnic issue consists in the real observance of the rights of all Bulgarian citizens, including the minorities, DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said in his pre-election address on the national television today.

In the last few decades Bulgaria became a symbol of the gross violation of human and minorities' rights, and the ethnic issue was raised every time the political power of communism was endangered, Mr. Dogan said. But according to him, the ethnic issue does not consist in interethnic relations only and a lasting solution to the problem presupposes the introduction of a market economy, reviewing of the foreign policy, and cultural equality of the individual ethnic and religious communities with a domination of the Bulgarian national values. The only internal guarantee for Bulgaria's security and stable development is its irreversible democratization, the observance of the international agreements on human rights and the equality of all Bulgarian citizens, DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said.

BSDP Leader Interviewed on Future Government

AU1709113391 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 12 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP, by Karnmelita Deneva; place and date not given: "How To Rule This Country in Its Most Difficult Period"]

[Text] It appears from yesterday's news conference of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] that the BSDP will enter an election coalition with the Ecoglasnost Political Club, the Democratic Party in Plovdiv, and the Alternative Socialist Organization-Independent [ASO-Independent]. This is a bloc of political formations based on democratic and republican ideologies. Petur Dertliev [BSDP chairman] expressed his conviction that the forthcoming parliament may be an even worse bunch of chatterboxes, judging by the kind of people who are eager to gain access to it.

The BSDP does not intend to call for a postponement of the elections, but this may be requested by the administrative organs if they should not manage to prepare for

the elections on time. Dertliev declared that he will presumably run for the Sofia and Pirin area election districts. The BSDP also has a candidate for the post of mayor of Sofia, who is likely to win if he should prove superior to the other candidates, but Petur Dertliev refused to cite any names.

This is what Petur Dertliev had to say in an interview for our daily OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK:

[Deneva] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was split into three factions and is expected to run for the elections with three different ballots. What was the reason for the split?

[Dertliev] The SDS has grown out of its romantic stage, when Sofia streets were crowded with enthusiastic people dancing with joy. That time is over; now we have reached the period of harsh realities. They caused the split of the SDS, although the reasons for the split were simply ridiculous—namely, the question of whether to participate in making laws. A Western politician would not believe that such a thing could cause the split of a political formation that was the most powerful in our country. We showed the world that we are Bulgarians and that we are intolerant. We also showed something else—namely, that our politicians, carried away by their ambition to succeed in their political career, neglected the concern about common Bulgarian interests and the principles of tolerance and moderation. I cannot say yet with how many ballots the SDS is expected to run for the election, but the most important thing is that we should implement the peaceful transition.

[Deneva] In such case, how many members of the legislature does the BSDP expect to have?

[Dertliev] We are the most popular party. We had a large membership that has undoubtedly decreased. Nevertheless, the election will show in the first place whether the people accept our hitherto practiced constructive approach, and, in the second place, whether those who did not vote for us during the last election and those who voted for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] will believe our appeal for social justice. There is no doubt that our party will be elected to the legislature. As far as the question of the number of deputies is concerned, this is up to the voters. Nevertheless, I can promise you something as early as today: The BSDP will nominate only capable and worthy candidates for the election, such as the deputies who are now sitting in the legislature, people like Zakhari Karamfilov, Stefan Zlatev, Vulkana Todorova, Petur Kornazhev, and many others. Approximately 120 candidates for parliamentary seats were confirmed at the last session of the BSDP National Committee. The majority of them are between the ages of 35 and 55.

[Deneva] You repeated on several occasions that you are concerned about the postelection period, considering that it would be difficult to reach understanding among the parties in the future National Assembly. Nevertheless, can you tell me what kind of government you expect will be ruling Bulgaria in two months?

[Dertliev] That is a difficult question. I am absolutely convinced that none of the political forces will obtain the majority. Even the extreme formations such as the BSP are not united. Our entire political life is torn apart by internal disputes. No matter which forces are going to be in charge of ruling the country, they should immediately halt their internal conflicts. Which forces would be capable of rallying the greatest number of parties so as to unite the new leglislature? I cannot stop worrying about how this country should be ruled under the current extremely difficult circumstances! There are three degrees of disease in politics: I would call them the mayoral, the parliamentary, and the ministerial diseases. The ministerial disease is developing as the ambition of prestige without responsibility. I am frightened and confused by the growing trend to regard social ascent as a pleasure rather than a duty.

[Deneva] Nevertheless, what will the future government look like, according to you?

[Dertliev] If no agreement on a coalition government is reached, then a government composed of experts and supported by the political forces is likely to be formed. A similar form of government exists today, but the political factor may be less accentuated in the future government. Nevertheless, it is not likely to survive a four-year term of office. The formation of a monolithic one-party government is even less likely. Nevertheless, I think that the nature of the future government will be determined by the developments of the current week. My forecast could be more precise in the next few days.

'Club of Repressed' Withdraws From SDS

AU1709111991 Sofia NOVINI in Bulgarian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Boryana Kostova: "Club of Repressed (Nevrokopski) Leaves SDS"]

[Text] The monolithic coalition of the Union of Democratic Forces-Movement [SDS-Movement] proved to be less monolithic than supposed. After the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (Milan Drenchev) left the SDS, another organization now plans to leave. This is the Club of the Oppressed, whose leader, Ivan Nevrokopski, says:

We were members of the SDS since the beginning. However, we now have some serious problems there. I went to the National Coordinating Council to see the candidate lists. It turned out that we almost do not figure in them. Only one of our candidates has been envisaged for the four Sofia constituencies. That is unjust, the more so because we were modest in our wishes and nominated only nine of our candidates for the common list. Apparently someone considered even this figure to be exaggerated. Under those circumstances, we will not participate in the election with our candidates. Our members and supporters are free to decide for whom they will vote.

Walesa: 'Poland Needs a Strong Czechoslovakia'

LD1709171491 Warsaw PAP in English 1521 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Prague, Sept. 17—Poland needs a strong Czechoslovakia, President Lech Walesa told the Czechoslovak parliament on Tuesday which he was invited to address on the second day of his official visit here.

Walesa was greeted in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly by its president Alexander Dubcek who voiced a conviction that the visit of the Polish president will mark a significant step in the development of Polish-Czechoslovak contacts.

In his address to the Assembly, President Walesa spoke of the common tragic experience of fascism and communism suffered by both nations, referring in particular to Poland's forced participation in the 1968 armed intervention in Czechoslovakia.

The Polish president proposed that the two nations forget about things that used to divide them and in the future stop creating artificial barriers. He appealed for the opening of borders between Poland and Czechoslovakia declaring that "Poland's border will be wide open and hospitable".

"Poland needs a strong Czechoslovakia, with the rich attainments of its two peoples: the Czechs and Slovaks, as well as all other national groups living on its territory. A strong partner guarantees greater effectiveness of strivings to become integrated with the structures of Western Europe," Walesa stressed. He also pointed out that Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary must be a factor of order and stability in the region and must jointly work to secure their interests in the process of assistance for the USSR prepared by the Western states.

The Polish president also pointed to the significance of the Polish-Czechoslovak friendship and cooperation treaty, now ready for signing, and to the rank that Poland attaches to the agreements on cultural cooperation and exchange of youth concluded with Czechoslovakia.

The Assembly responded warmly to the Polish president's speech applauding many of his statements.

A direct conversation between Lech Walesa and Alexander Dubcek confirmed the conviction shared by both sides that efforts to join the European Community should be coordinated.

President Walesa met also on Tuesday with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa. "This was a very concrete talk," the Polish president commented, stating that it focused on the present possibilities and prospects for Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation. The topics discussed by Walesa and Calfa ranged from minority issues and a free trade zone to tourism and industrial cooperation.

Also today Lech Walesa said a prayer in the place where in 1969 Jan Palach, a student from Prague, set himself ablaze in protest against the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

Walesa also had a meeting on Tuesday with chairwoman of the Czech People's Council Dagmara Buresova and attended a lunch given in his honour by the Czech Premier Petr Pithart.

Havel, Walesa Assess Results of Deliberations

LD1709232691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Report by Vladimir Vercak on a news conference held by CSFR President Vaclav Havel and Polish President Lech Walesa in Prague on 17 September]

[Text] At the beginning of the news conference that ended about 25 minutes ago, both presidents, Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel, briefly assessed their two days of deliberations in Prague. The Polish president said: I did not come to lecture, I did not come as a teacher, but I came to explain my point of view, to acquaint the Czechoslovak side with my views. We live at the edge of a new epoch. Its history was formed by a certain political development. The new century, Lech Walesa went on to say, must be the time when borders will no longer play a role in relations between people. The ideal place for such contacts—close contacts between our peoples—is the border area. I wish for a better formation of relations, so that there will be contacts among people, cities, and regions—not just politicians.

I wish, the Polish president said, that cooperation may deepen between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. We agreed, therefore, with President Havel that the foremost task of safeguarding peace and security on our continent could be an international force's task, under the supervision of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Let us demonstrate this with the situation in Yugoslavia today—as to how complicated and critical the situation is with regard to our small Europe.

In his opening address, President Vaclav Havel said that the two presidents talked about a wide range of problems, ranging from economic reform to bilateral issues. We also talked about the coming Cracow meeting of the highest representatives of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, President Havel said. A great part of our talks, Vaclav Havel said, were about the problems of solving the Yugoslav crisis. The talks also included questions on cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance and on association agreements with the European Community. When asked by the BBC, the two presidents expanded on this problem. Vaclav Havel said that association agreements are of vital significance for Czechoslovakia and Poland. On no account, however, do we feel nervous as to the attitude of France. Lech Walesa added that there is a serious contradiction: Western surplus goods go to Poland, which causes an outflow of profits—but export

opportunities to Western Europe are considerably limited. As to assessing the situation in the USSR, the Polish president said that Mikhail Gorbachev is an historical phenomenon that must form and be formed by the times in which he lives. It is, however, not enough only to help reformers: Help must, above all, be given to reform. After the applause, the daily reinforcement and deepening of changes comes to the forefront—above all, the economic changes. Problems are only just beginning, Lech Walesa said.

The Czechoslovak president expressed a conviction that, through perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev opened the door to a secret chamber from which the history came out that eventually forced the Soviet president himself to keep abreast of it.

With regard to mutual relations between the two presidents, they said that they were never interrupted and that a pause on the part of Lech Walesa was caused by his conviction that it was not necessary to assume a viewpoint on what was happening in Czechoslovakia.

In conclusion, President Lech Walesa said that the memory of society is too short, it forgets long-term work too fast, and it sees and assesses only what has or has not been achieved at present. In this way, the past does not hold the key to the future.

Calfa, PRC's Qian Discuss Economic Reform

LD1709134191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa received the Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today. During the talks, the two officials briefed each other in detail about the character and course of the economic reforms in their countries.

The Chinese guest characterized the transformation of the Chinese economy, which has been under way for 13 years already, as a combination of various forms of ownership that corresponds to Chinese conditions and the purpose of which is to contribute to economic competition. He also expressed an interest in seeing our entreprises improving their ability to compete.

Marian Calfa stressed the need to improve mutual good relations on a rational basis and confirmed an interest in cooperating closely in the sphere of trade.

Deputy Prime Minister Vales 'Disgusted'; Resigns

LD1709231191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Statement by Vaclav Vales upon resigning from the CSFR deputy prime minister post in Prague on 17 September—recorded]

[Text] I am not leaving government to escape the battlefield, but I have no chance to wage this battle, a battle against whom I do not know. I have really suffered from worsening health in the last few weeks. I have also lost peace in my family, and under these circumstances, my work in the government has been rendered practically impossible. This is not an eight-hour job; it is work from morning to night. Therefore, I asked the president to accept my resignation this time. I acknowledged on the last two occasions that I could still be useful in the government, despite my age. In the current situation, I am—I do not like to use the words—disgusted and crushed. I do not think that I can go on working in the government with the necessary intensity. Therefore, I am grateful that the president has accepted my resignation.

Havel, Calfa Criticize 'Unjust Attacks' on Vales

LD1709211491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Statements by President Vaclav Havel and Prime Minister Marian Calfa to unidentified correspondents after an extraordinary session of the CSFR Government in Prague on 17 September; Calfa speaks in Slovak—recorded]

[Text] Federal Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Vales submitted his resignation to me three times—or rather, asked me to release him from his office—first in December, then in February, and finally today. In all three instances, he asked to be released from his office primarily for health reasons, in view of the fact that he already felt overworked and tired. He added another reason this last time. I rejected his request the first two times. I answered Vaclav Vales' second request by asking him to coordinate the Federal Government's economic policy with the economic policy of the republican governments, to look after negotiations with trade unions and contacts with enterprises. It seemed to me that Vaclav Vales was an integrating figure, enjoying the respect of all, and that he was uncommonly suited for such an office. This is why I rejected twice his resignation and requested him to stay in his office until the next elections. I complied with his third request today. Vaclav Vales is disgusted by the unjust attacks against his person on the legislature floor, as well as in the press. I am also disgusted by these attacks. I checked—we made several investigations—and found that these attacks were unjustified and lacked substance. I am very much annoyed that certain political forces and certain people act this way. This reconfirmed for me the importance of giving a legal framework to the way we deal with the past and of adopting a corresponding law to ensure that the whole matter takes place in dignity and decently, with the right to self-defense. Vaclav Vales' case is clear proof that the manner in which we have so far been proceeding lacks decency and is unjust. I even have the feeling that manifestations of this type are inspired by people who aim to destablize democratic power in our country. I would like to thank Vaclav Vales for the very important work he has done in the government up to now.

[Calfa] I convened a Federal Government session today because I considered it important that Vaclav Vales personally inform government members of his reasons for submitting his resignation to the president of the Republic. The government's feelings, conclusions, and views are contained in the CSFR Government declaration that was univocally adopted at today's government session.

Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Vales today asked the president of the Republic to be released from his office. The president complied with his request.

Vaclav Vales was impelled by gross attacks and unjustified accusations in the Federal Assembly and in the press to submit his resignation in the interests of his health and of peace for his family. The CSFR Government has acquainted itself with all the material and firmly rejects attacks against Vaclav Vales as unjustified. It respects Vaclav Vales as a man without blemish who, with his work in the government, made a significant contribution to solving basic economic reform issues and expresses its sincere thanks to him for his work.

The CSFR Government condemns the practice of drawing up fake records and fatal accusations and launching attacks against which defense is impossible and that create the atmosphere of personal uncertainty and political unrest. The Government appeals to the representatives of all political parties and movements to do their utmost so that the principles of justice and the presumption of innocence and of decency in relations between people are respected in our country.

With Vaclav Vales' departure, a certain space is created in the government. In the next few days, talks will be held with representatives of all coalition forces represented in the government to solve the problem of setting up the government with regard to this space as soon as possible, because the government faces enormous tasks. Therefore, we must decide on how to make up for the loss caused by Mr. Vales' departure.

Calfa Views German Treaty, Federation Issues

LD1409095191 Prague Federal I Television Network in Czech 1750 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; questions asked in Czech, Calfa's replies in Slovak—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Prime Minister, the government has discussed the Czechoslovak-German treaty. At present, the government has been releasing rather carefully, bit by bit, information about the treaty and its content. Are you able to tell us more?

[Calfa] We discussed the treaty today. It was submitted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. You know that it was being prepared over a very long period of time. This has been a very difficult matter. The government has been given full information about the text of the treaty. I can say two things about it. First, the treaty does not regulate property issues. These are not treated at all in this treaty. They will apparently be tackled at some future stage. We have simply postponed them to the future. This is the first thing.

The second thing that we have been examining for a considerable length of time concerns certain reciprocity regarding the rights of national minorities—the Czech and Slovak minority in the FRG and the German minority on our territory. This matter is rather sensitive, historically speaking. In this, we have proceeded unequivocally from a certain principle of reciprocity in these questions. We have concluded these matters, although some aspects will still have to be discussed between the delegations of these two countries to prepare the treaty for initialling within a short period of time.

[Correspondent] Do you envisage that the treaty will be signed in October during the federal president's visit?

[Calfa] This has not yet been decided. I believe that the treaty should be initialled between the foreign ministers. The process of signing is still bound up with the decision on the German side as to who will sign the treaty.

[Correspondent] Let us return once again to the talks held in Bratislava last week, where in fact the future of the Federation was discussed, but without the participation of the federal bodies. The talks were followed by a number of reactions that, to a large extent, cast doubt on the results of the Bratislava talks. How do you, as representative of a common state—the federation—see those results?

[Calfa] Well, we have all awaited them with great anticipation, of course. Representatives of the Czech and Slovak Republics met at last. Under the constitution, both national councils represent the sovereignty of the two nations—which means that they are the republics' supreme bodies. The national council presidiums are the natural representatives of these national councils. I consider it natural that these top representatives should discuss these issues since they are very complex and controversial.

In one respect, I am pleased by the results since they showed that the need to discuss things, to negotiate, is being implemented. On the other hand, the resolutions are general to such an extent that they allow an interpretation that became evident immediately.

[Correspondent] Do you think that it would do any good if the so-called pure constitutions, in other words constitutions with full jurisdictions, were declared in both republics at the same time?

[Calfa] Well, I have to say here very resolutely, since this idea has appeared, that I cannot understand how it is possible to declare a constitution that would not be in harmony with the federal Constitution. To state that it is possible to accept in the present constitutional situation, when a federal constitution and the Federal Assembly exist, an Assembly in which there are Czech and Slovak

deputies elected in regular elections—there are 130 Slovak and 170 Czech deputies—how is it possible? If a constitution is declared, and this move is probably being prepared in Slovakia, if a certain pure or full constitution, that is with all jurisdictions, is declared, then that would cause a collision with the federal Constitution since it has a federal effect.

From this point of view, I have to state that, if a national council, whether the Czech or Slovak one, chose to follow this way, it would in fact decide to solve constitutional issues of this state through unconstitutional means. And this would mean that necessary conclusions would have to be drawn.

[Correspondent] But there is a difference in views on whether this would mean the end of the common state or merely further complications in the development.

[Calfa] I do not think that the declaration of a constitution means the end of a state. To declare a constitution simply means to declare a constitution—(?regardless of) the fact that the declaration of a constitution is being prepared but that its coming into force is to be postponed, if it is true, since the situation is developing very fast. However, it is undoubtedly another step in the effort to ruin the hope for the existence of some common state. It is crystal clear already today that there are strong political groups that do not endorse the idea of a common state. It is clear that a group that declares the principle of a confederation does not count on a common state. Confederation is not a common state. [passage omitted]

In other words, anyone who talks about a confederation is saying at the same time that what has existed here in central Europe since 1900 will disappear, that the Czechoslovak Republic will disappear.

[Correspondent] Yet these people still count on the existence of some kind of a common state—although they call it a confederation. Obviously, the interpretation of some common attributes of a federation is different here. They do not—for instance, the Movement for Democratic Slovakia—directly state that they are speaking about two separate states.

[Calfa] This is really a puzzle because this notion is a contradiction in itself. Taking into account all the information available to us at present, if somebody speaks about a confederation, then he simply speaks about something that is not a common state. And if somebody comes forward with a notion of a common state, then he should at the same time say what should be appropriate tasks of the common state in question. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In this context, yet another danger emerges in the course of discussing the budgets of the republics and the federation. Views are expressed that the proportion between the budgets that had been outlined when drafting the budgets—40 percent for the federation, 35 percent for the Czech Republic, and 25 percent for the Slovak Republic—was advantageous for the federation but represented a certain handicap for the republics. What is your view on this?

[Calfa] This issue has been misunderstood from the very beginning. Since 1918, a unified economy has been built in Czechoslovakia. And now all of sudden, we have decided to assess every part of this economy independently—its output, income, expenses—and understandably, this is a very distorted point of view, as the parts are closely interlinked and have never been built independently on one or the other part of our state's territory.

Once we decided to tackle this issue, we reached the conclusion that the ideal solution was perhaps to put all the incomes in one basket and divide them proportionally, and the proportion was then agreed on, it was not disputed. [passage omitted]

The other thing is that it is little known that the proportion of the Czech and Slovak budgets is 1.99:1.00—it is not 1:2 [as heard]. From this point of view, it would be very difficult to say that the division between the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic is a just one. [passage omitted]

I think that we can get ourselves in insoluble situations because of the wrong way we put fundamental questions.

[Correspondent] There is one more key question here: Is it possible that the republic budget deficits could be paid for from the federal budget?

[Calfa] This is possible, of course. But what is paradoxical in this situation is that, from the very beginning, the republics strove very hard to keep the budgets separate and not to allow any transfers between them. [passage omitted]

Slovak Leaders Cite Objections to German Treaty

LD1709164891 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko sent a letter today to Jiri Dienstbier, deputy prime minister and foreign minister. They gave CTK the text of the letter. In it, they recall that the Federal Government approved last week the text of an agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany on mutual relations. The preamble of the agreement states, among other things, that the legal continuity of Czechoslovakia has lasted since 1918. Since this agreement also concerns Slovak history, we feel obliged to express our opinion on it, write Messrs. Jan Carnogursky and Frantisek Miklosko. The letter continues: In March 1939, the Slovak Republic came into being. Its declaration was in harmony with the then valid constitution. The political regime of the Slovak Republic deserves condemnation. There existed only one political party in the state, Slovakia led a war against the allied countries, and deportation of Jewish citizens to concentration camps

will remain a permanent scar on Slovak history. Historically, however, one cannot deny its existence, nor the fact that it received diplomatic recognition from a number of states. We feel morally obliged, says the letter, to bring to people's attention the existence of the Slovak Republic, out of respect for the citizens living at that time, as well as out of respect for the victims of the communist regime. The Foreign Ministry did not brief the Slovak government on the progress of talks with the Federal Republic of Germany on the treaty on mutual relations, and that is why we did not have a chance to point out our objections to the text of the treaty.

The above-mentioned preamble of the treaty does not correspond to the real development of Slovak history nor to the history of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks. Therefore, we propose that the Federal Government continue negotiations with Germany about dropping this part of the treaty's preamble, says the letter by Jan Carnogursky and Frantisek Miklosko sent to Jiri Dienstbier.

Defense, Security Committees View Arms Exports

AU1809100291 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Sep 91 p 2

[Rostislav Rod report: "Weapons Worth Eight Billion"]

[Text] Comprehensive reorganization within the Federal Interior Ministry should be completed by 16 September. "The people in the ministry's top posts should be appointed in accordance with the screenings law currently under consideration," said CSFR Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml to deputies at yesterday's meeting of the Defense and Security Committees. The Interior Ministry's new structure divides it into two separate parts—a state administration central body and a federal police force. The newly established security subcommittee's task was to review the ministry's new structure.

Jan Ruml gave the following reply to a question on why the Interior Ministry's budget is classified: "This is because of a regulation issued in the past. The budget is not completely classified, but it is classified in the way it is structured. For instance, it would be inappropriate for the intelligence service budget or for the technical requirements budget to be known. This is probably the most important reason. However, I think that this matter is generally connected with the issue of state and official secrecy, for which the old regulations are no longer suitable; therefore, we are drafting new ones. According to the new regulations, the Interior Ministry's budget will be more open to public scrutiny."

Federal Foreign Trade Ministry [FMZO] representatives briefed the defense subcommittee deputies on the export of military materials. We spoke with Stefan Glezgo, director of the FMZO department supervising the export of military materials, on what was discussed at the briefing:

[Rod] Following your introductory report to the Federal Assembly Defense Subcommittee on exporting armaments, why was the public excluded from the rest of the meeting?

[Glezgo] I made this request because I wanted to reply to all the deputies' questions. Most of the issues are classified as state secrets.

[Rod] What is the FMZO's position, or rather, your department's position on armaments exports?

[Glezgo] We have the authority to grant permission and issue licenses for foreign trade activity involving military materials. That is, our task is to enforce the principles approved by the Federal Government. Apart from this, the ministry is responsible for all the intergovernmental agreements signed in the past. This involves both credit and license agreements for military materials. As the armaments export sphere is not sufficiently covered from a legal point of view, we are also participating in drafting legislation.

[Rod] How many licenses have you issued?

[Glezgo] Commercial activity involving the export of military materials has now devolved to 15 organizations, including the previously monopolistic Omnipol [foreign trade] organization.

[Rod] How is supervision guaranteed?

[Glezgo] It is necessary to have special permission, a license, for each transaction. When applying for a license, it is necessary to specify whether the transaction involves exports or imports or—as the case may be—both. Complete details about the supplier and customer, including addresses, must also be given. The type of material, the amount, and the customer country must be stated. Other conditions are also laid down in the license, which is only valid for a certain period. Transporting goods across Yugoslavia is currently prohibited.

[Rod] Does the issuing of a license also apply to the Army and the Interior Ministry?

[Glezgo] No. These institutions are only obliged to inform us of such activity.

[Rod] What do armaments exports amount to this year?

[Glezgo] As of 1 August, they amounted to 3.9 billion korunas. At the same time, we envisage that this sum will increase to 8 billion korunas by the end of the year. That is, to the same sum as last year. Contracts worth 17.5 billion korunas have been signed.

[Rod] Where are we exporting the armaments?

[Glezgo] In essence, it is possible to say that we are exporting them to countries we have been cooperating with for a long time. We have to adhere to contracts signed in the past. What I mean by this is spare parts and so on. However, we are trying not to export to regions affected by crises.

Western Military District Reorganization Reported

AU1709173091 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 91 p 3

["per" and CTK report: "They Are Leaving the Barracks"]

[Text] Tabor—The Western Military District is undergoing extensive changes, including the redeployment of units.

Until now, the Western Military District consisted of eight divisions distributed in 202 garrisons of the Czech Republic. As of 1 January, the Western Command will be established with its seat in Tabor, and two months later the Command Center will be established in Olomouc. The strength of drafted soldiers, officers, and civilian employees in the Western Military District is being reduced by two-thirds. The inventory of technical equipment will also be reduced: two-thirds of the tanks, one-half of the combat vehicles, etc.

These changes will then lead to a dissolution of motorized infantry regiments in Klatovy, Karlovy Vary, Tachov, Cesky Krumlov, Uherske Hradiste, Cheb, Vysocany, Prachatice and some other garrisons by the end of October.

Some military properties are gradually being transferred to civilian use. This has already happened in Nepomuk, Jihlava, Vraz u Pisku, Volary, Tabor, and in three instances in Ceske Budejovice. Additional property, including former church-owned property, in Ceske Budejovice, Pardubice, Brno, Breclav, and Ostrava will be transferred next year.

Agriculture Figures Reveal 'Critical' Situation

AU1809092491 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Josef Prouza report: "Primary Production Hard Hit"]

[Text] Preliminary data on agricultural production shows a deficit in income. The majority of organizations, and agriculture as a whole, are getting into a critical situation.

While the processing industry does not face marketing problems, agricultural primary production is generally heading toward a recession. According to a document drawn up by the Czech Ministry of Agriculture, losses by agricultural cooperatives in the first six months of 1991 reached almost 9 billion korunas. Lower demand is among the reasons for these losses. The fact that supply exceeded demand made it impossible to charge higher prices for agricultural products to cover higher prices of inputs or make a profit. The cutback in production that actually took place was insufficient. Compared with the same period last year, the volume of agricultural production declined approximately 10 percent. Yet, to balance demand and supply, this decline should be at least 20 percent. In financial terms, this decline is even more pronounced—30 percent. This signals a decline in nonagricultural activities—which were very lucrative before.

Apart from lowering output, farmers reacted by lowering costs. Compared with last year, expenditures on wages declined 20 percent. Average wages in agricultural cooperatives fell by 60 korunas and in state-owned farms by 28 korunas. While lower wages were in line with the production decline, the decline in material expenditures (12 percent, in financial terms) was not big enough and this is one of the main reasons for the losses. More difficulties have arisen from the uneven drop in individual items (a smaller drop in the case of fuel than in the case of manure and protective chemicals [ochranny pripravek]).

Interest rates have risen sharply. This increase has caused primary production costs to rise by 850 billion korunas. The losses are also growing due to increased inventories and unsold animal products. As of 20 June 1991, bank loans to each state-owned farm averaged 23.5 million korunas and 15.6 million korunas to each agricultural cooperative. Debt repayment has catastrophic consequences during a production cutback. On the same date, of the total number of 274 state-owned farms (12,047 korunas average loss) only 12 farms showed a profit (1,101 korunas average profit per farm). The situation in agricultural cooperatives is no rosier. Only 221 of them showed an average profit of 1,775 thousand korunas, and 1,164 showed an average loss of 5,372 korunas per farm.

Financial analysis of the reproduction process shows that the majority of organizations in agricultural primary production are unable to create means for any kind of reproduction. No significant changes were made in the structure of the crop area. Wheat replaced some oil plants, but this is not a trend. Compared with last year, there was a drop in the weight of animal products—cattle 11 percent, milk 11.3 percent, hogs 5.5 percent, and eggs 5 percent. Compared with the same period last year, by 1 July 1991, the number of farm animals dropped 6.7 percent in the case of cattle and 7.3 percent in the case of sheep. On the other hand, the number of hogs rose slightly 0.75 percent.

Results achieved in the food industry are interesting, particularly from the point of view of the tension between producers in the primary sphere and in the processing industry. Profitability is double that of last year, but it varies greatly from branch to branch. The profitability of the most "sensitive" ones—the dairy products industry, meat industry, and poultry industry—is between 4.5 and 5.5 percent. Of course, producers in the primary sphere have certainly no reason for envy. However, it is true that the food industry has failed to improve demand for its products by offering variety, improving its quality, etc. Neither is the drop in production in line with the development of wages.

Organizations in the sphere of services, both state-owned and cooperative ones, have no reason to be optimistic. Enterprises such as Sempra, Brooding Enterprises, etc. achieved the worst results, while civil engineering and industrially-oriented organizations are walking the tightrope of economic survival. Enterprises linked to the food industry are in the best situation.

A preliminary assessment of results in the agricultural and food industry sector in the first six months of 1991, carried out by the Czech Republic Ministry of Agriculture, is not too encouraging for farmers. However, farmers are well aware of their situation. The Czech Ministry of Agriculture and the Federal Ministry of Economy have become familiar with their situation. However, the fact that they know the situation is no excuse for them. If the entire sector is heading for recession, this must be a signal for taking energetic steps.

Unemployment Statistics Issued for August

AU1709185791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Sep 91 p 3

["ci"-signed report: "Unemployment in August"]

[Text] As of 31 August 1991, 182,805 unemployed were registered with the Labor Exchanges in the Czech Republic. Of the total number of registered citizens, only 62.3 percent, i.e. 113,942 citizens, collected unemployment benefits. Compared to the previous month, the number of jobless grew by 10.4 percent, or 17,246 people.

Among those collecting unemployment benefits were 60.9 percent laborers, 15 percent high school graduates, and 24.1 percent technical workers and others.

As of 31 August 1991, the Labor Exchanges registered 42,153 available jobs, of which 33,066 were blue-collar jobs. These jobs are mostly in mining, the metal-working sector, business, and some areas of finance, banking, and accounting. Despite relatively decent salaries there is not much interest in these jobs.

The unemployment rate in the Czech Republic reached 3.4 percent.

The Labor Exchanges in Slovakia registered a total of 22,799 unemployed, 167,578 of which collect benefits. Compared to the end of July, the number of unemployed rose by 25,725. Of the total number of jobless in the Slovak Republic, 139,826 are laborers and 82,973 others—40,247 of the latter are technical workers.

At the end of August, the Slovak Labor Exchanges registered 7,393 open positions, of which 5,216 were blue-collar jobs and 419 positions for high school graduates. From the beginning of the year to the end of August, 992,773,969 korunas were paid out in unemployment benefits across Slovakia. The unemployment rate reached 8.72 percent on 31 August.

Foreign Ministry Demands SFRY Respect Border

LD1709181691 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] According to a Foreign Ministry statement, the Republic of Hungary's Government is following with grave concern the ever-expanding military operations in Yugoslavia, along the immediate Hungarian border, during which formations of the Yugoslav People's Army also deployed aircraft and heavy weapons against civilian establishments. Yugoslav combat aircraft again violated the Republic of Hungary's airspace on several occasions, thereby breaching the international obligations undertaken by Yugoslavia. The Hungarian Government emphatically demands that Yugoslav authorities take immediate and effective steps for the purpose of respecting the sovereignty of the Republic of Hungary and that they refrain from violating Hungarian airspace. The Republic of Hungary's Government has taken the necessary steps so that armed clashes should not endanger the settlements in Hungary near the border or the security of Hungarian citizens. The task of the states of the international community is, through urgent, firm efforts, to facilitate a halt to the bloodshed in Yugoslavia and to the spread of the war to further regions of Yugoslavia, as well as to prevent its becoming international.

EC Observers Invited

LD1809102891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Hungary is calling Common Market observers to the Hungarian-Yugoslav joint border, Peter Zentai reports from Vienna:

[Zentai] This was announced just now by the head of the Hungarian delegation at the session of the International Crisis Avoidance Center headquartered in Vienna.

In an interview [delegation head] (Istvan Gyarmati) argued that the guarantees worked out two weeks ago at the Hungarian-Yugoslav exchange of views, also within the framework of the conflict avoidance mechanism, are not working, according to the signs; the situation in the border region has deteriorated.

The Common Market observers are already fulfilling a mission in Yugoslavia. Thus, Hungary would like them to extend their activity to Hungarian territories, first and foremost to our Croatian border territory. What we expect from the observers is that they should give reliable, independent information about the eventual air and land border violations.

In the present situation, as (Istvan Gyarmati) said, the Hungarian Government does not see a possibility for bilateral Hungarian-Yugoslav consultations to be renewed within the framework of the crisis avoidance mechanism.

'Relative' Calm Reported

LD1809075191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] There was relative calm during the night on the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. Although the border guards heard the air alert sirens, the noise of aircraft or bombing did not reach the border stations.

During the night, nearly 80 adults and 20 children sought asylum from the Hungarian Border Guards. An official of the Border Guard said, in answer to our question, that nearly 20 unarmed soldiers had also escaped to Hungary.

Serbian Gunmen Block Pipeline

LD1709160491 Budapest MTI in English 1258 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—Talks with Serbian gunmen who seized five control stations along a 180-km Croatian section of the Adria pipeline yesterday and shut off the valves between the Adriatic and Hungary yielded no agreement, ministry of industry and trade spokeswoman told MTI this morning.

The act has a 80,000 tonne shipload of crude oil from the Middle East blocked at the port of Omisalj.

A Hungarian Oil and Gas Trust (OKGT) offical told MTI today that in addition to oil reserves for one and a half months, Hungary has a regular supply of crude is coming via the Friendship Pipeline from the Soviet Union.

The OKGT has contracts to import 1.8 million tonnes of crude, of which 1-1.1 million should arrive through the Adria pipeline. If the pipeline is closed for a longer period the OKGT will buy more oil from the Soviet Union or Western dealers.

The OKGT has emergency plans for maintaining supplies in the event of both pipelines being closed, either processing crude in refineries near Vienna and in Bratislava or buy refined products from there.

Hungary plans to import 5.2 to 5.4 million tonnes of crude this year, 15-20 per cent down from last year following repeated price rises.

47 SFRY Soldiers Cross Border

LD1709183591 Budapest MTI in English 1620 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—Forty-seven soldiers of the Federal Army of Yugoslavia fled to Hungary through the green border in the south Hungarian regions of Nagykanizsa and Pecs on Monday. A further 12 civilian citizens asked for temporary refuge in Hungary on the same day, said a statement issued by the Hungarian Border Guard on Tuesday. Heavy gunfire was reported from the region of Donji Miholjac, opposite the Hungarian traffic control point of Dravaszabolcs in the

border region of Pecs at 00.05 on Monday. The Hungarian border guard observed several hits on Hungarian territory, too. Gun shot marks were found on the wall of the depot of the Dravaszabolcs border guard. Two shells hit Hungarian territory between 00.20 and 00.30. One point of impact was found 50 metres from the traffic control point in a field. Fighting on Yugoslav territory went on until 2 pm on Monday. Border traffic was resumed as from 3.55 pm. Hungarian Border Guard patrols observed Hungarian airspace violations on three occasions by four Yugoslav fighter planes on Monday.

Antall Views Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia

LD1709165791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (TANJUG)—In case of failure of the international community measures to end the fighting in Yugoslavia, the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia should be reviewed, as Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in a telephone conversation with Italian Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli last night, the daily NEPSAZBADSZAG writes today.

If the fighting in Yugoslavia continues and a ceasefire does not come into effect, Hungary expects the international community, including NATO, the EC countries and the seven industrialized western countries, to take uniform and firm measures, the paper cites Antall as saying. This could isolate the Serbian nationalists and communists who are violating the ceasefire, Antall said, adding that Hungary opposes all violent attempts to change internal borders.

Antall expressed concern about the clashes being so close to the Hungarian-Yugoslav border and the position of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia.

Horn: U.S. Lacks 'Excessive Interest' in SFRY

LD1709173191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Report by Andras Domany at the Hungarian National Assembly]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party and chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, proposed that the government initiate an all-European conference of CSCE signatories to solve the Yugoslav crisis. This should be held on at least foreign ministerial level so that substantive, effective measures can be taken to stop the war immediately. Naturally, Yugoslavia, itself a participant, should be brought in also. As Gyula Horn remarked, somewhat ironically, in this way the Soviet Union and the United States could also get involved in the solution process. He was rather critical, primarily of the United States, which does not display excessive interest in respect of this very serious crisis. [passage omitted]

Katona Addresses Assembly on Forces Agreement

LD1809002691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1513 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Address by Tamas Katona, Hungarian political state secretary for foreign affairs, on the National Assembly's draft resolution on conventional armed forces at the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] National Assembly! I would like to halt the fleeing troops, [reference to decreasing number of legislators, who are ready to finish work] since we must decide! At last week's session, the National Assembly unanimously adopted the conventional armed forces agreement. In the highly significant agreement, from the viewpoint of Europe's security, by rejecting the past confrontation of the military blocs, an agreement of international law came into being that was based on an assumption of obligations by the 16 and the six as state groups. The replacement of the bloc approach by the category of state groups enabled the birth of the most significant, multilateral arms limitation agreement to date.

An important means for rejection of membership in alliance systems as an authoritative approach and for depiction of the national element via belonging to a state group is the agreement that provides for the maximum levels of the conventional arms and equipment stock of the countries that belong to the group of six, in connection with the European conventional forces agreement.

The maximum national level means the maximum quantity of arms limited by the agreement and the so-called combat technology—that is, tanks, armored combat vehicles, artillery means, combat planes, and offensive helicopters—that the given state can possess after reduction implementation. It enforces all of the provisions adopted in the agreement's framework that are connected to the change of national levels. Just like all of the levels determined in the agreement, the national level designates an upper limit. Whether or not this is filled depends on the sovereign decision of each individual state.

An important agreement characteristic is that, via the assumption of obligations on a national basis, which it contains, it gives substance to the conventional armed forces agreement. Without this, to put it figuratively, the agreement signed in Paris could be compared to a car that has everything except fuel.

The national element, or the acceptance of obligations on a national basis, and the expression or confirmation thereof in this agreement, is an extremely important guarantee from the viewpoint of abiding by the agreement's provisions. Moreover, it constitutes the basis so that after the 1992 Helsinki CSCE conference, the arms reduction talks should be able to continue with the participation of all member states, since any kind of agreement shaped at this forum can be based only on a national assumption of obligations.

Considering the geographical proximity of the six countries participating in the agreement, an important security-boosting factor is the part of the agreement that lays down the method for increasing the national levels. According to this, any country belonging to the group of six can increase its maximum national level only after consultation of the six and after their unanimous approval. I do not believe it is necessary to go into further detail on the significance of this fact.

Prior to taking a stand on the agreement, I also must mention that the Soviet Union is the country with the strongest Army in Europe. In this agreement, it has assumed an obligation to abide by the national levels according to the conventional armed forces agreement, that is, to destroy a considerable quantity of arms and means of combat technology.

Moreover, I consider it important to note that acceptance of the agreement means an extension of our reduction obligations if the conventional arms agreement, adopted by the esteemed House last week, comes into force—that is, once all of the 22 countries have placed their ratification documents with the repository, thereby assuming their obligation to abide by the agreement's provisions, that is by the maximum national level agreed as a result of consultation within the group.

It is an important agreement that elaborates the assumption of obligations within the group of six and clarifies the related procedures, in connection with the conventional armed forces agreement, which is indispensable from the viewpoint of European security.

Taking this into account as well, I believe I can rightly ask the esteemed House that it, just as it did in the case of the conventional armed forces agreement, support the submission unanimously. [passage omitted]

Assembly Ratifies Agreement

LD1809002991 Budapest MTI in English 1838 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—At its Tuesday plenary session, the Hungarian parliament ratified the agreement on the national level of conventional armed forces for Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union signed in November 1990. Tamas Katona, state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry qualified the document as very important. Parliament requested the president of the Republic of Hungary in a resolution to confirm the ratification document. Listing its reasons, the parliament stated that the agreement, integrated into a European system of arms limitations gives Hungary the possibility to possess the amount of conventional arms necessary to defend the country. By ratifying the document, the Hungarian side demonstrates its commitment to positive European processes and contributes to the preservation of the European military balance at a lower level. In another development, MPs accepted the draft law on the temporary regulations concerning cooperatives and a list of headquarters allocated to parliamentary parties.

Protesting Farmers Block Border Crossings Again

LD1809084191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] At 0900 this morning, protesting Burgenland farmers again blockaded the Nickelsdorf border crossing. Thus, traffic is at a standstill at Hegyeshalom. Attila Krisan, spokesman of the Border Guard, said that, for the time being, they do not know how long the action is expected to last. For this reason, on the main road leading out of Gyoer, police and Border Guard patrols are diverting traffic to Sopron-Kophaza and the Fertoed-Pamhagen border crossings. At Mosonmagyarovar, those heading for Austria are being diverted in the direction of Rajka and Csorna.

Ministry Ordered to Purchase Surplus Wheat

LD1809085691 Budapest MTI in English 1607 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI-ECONEWS)—On a government order, the Reserve Management Directorate (RMD) of the Hungarian Ministry of Industry and Trade is to buy up 100,000 tonnes of wheat for human consumption and 550,000 tonnes of wheat for fodder from growers, an RMD official told ECONEWS today.

The government decided back in July to purchase 650,000 tonnes of wheat and to guarantee the export of another 1.3 million tonnes to the Soviet Union. It is expected that Hungary will have a wheat surplus of about 2 million tonnes this year. The RMD will buy the wheat at a minimum price fixed by the Ministry of Agriculture: 5,000 forints a tonne for wheat for bread, and 4,600 forints a tonne for wheat for fodder.

The 650,000 tonnes of wheat will be bought out of the Intervention Fund, which is worth 10 billion forints and is self-financing.

In order to raise money for the purchase of the wheat, farm produce and foodstuffs—mainly maize and sugar—will be sold from intervention stocks. Producers will be paid 80 percent in 90-day commercial bills, and will get the remaining 20 percent if the wheat can be sold without a loss by June 30, 1992.

Finance Ministry Official Reviews 1992 Plans

AU1709093591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Sep 91 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Gyorgy Naszvadi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Finance, by Melinda Kamasz; place and date not given: "Are the Budget Calculations Too Optimistic?"]

[Text] The government has already dealt with the 1992 budget in a first reading. For the time being, the ministries find it hard to accept the drastic reduction in major expenditures. It appears that, after considerable reductions, the ministries will not be able to perform the very duties for which they were established in the first place. We asked Gyorgy Naszvadi about the progress made in this debate:

[Kamasz] The ministries have already received the Finance Ministry's draft budget for 1992, including the economic expectations for 1992. The government has already discussed this draft too. To what extent do the ministries accept the Finance Ministry's starting point—namely that gross domestic product [GDP] can rise by 2-3 percent, consumption and investment can rise by 1 percent, total income can rise by 23-25 percent, exports will increase by 5-6 percent and, at the same time, the producers' price increase will be reduced to 16 percent and the consumer price index will decrease to 22-23 percent?

[Naszvadi] Many ministries doubt our initial calculations and, based on our economy's present situation, consider them to be too optimistic.

Some people think that the processes that would, for example, help reduce the growth rate of inflation to such a large extent will not start up. However, the experience of the last months clearly proves our point. Many people question our expectations of the GDP-increase and, therefore, they consider our estimates on budgetary income to be too optimistic. They do not accept our suggestions to curb expenditure, because life will supposedly stop and impossible situations will arise if these—in their opinion—drastic measures and the curbing of expenditure become reality. The ministries fear that they will not be able to fulfill the tasks that they were created for.

[Kamasz] Is their fear justified?

[Naszvadi] Our resources are undoubtedly shrinking, but the question is whether everything can remain the same as before. In general, the ministries also agree that the present structure has to be changed, we have to economize, and the state has to withdraw from several areas, but counter-arguments are brought up as soon as we come to talk about removing actual items from the expenditures budget. For example, the ministries find it hard to accept the self-regulating mechanisms affecting wages and materials.

[Kamasz] How much did you plan?

[Naszvadi] In 1991, we had a 20 percent wage regulating mechanism [ber automatizmus] and 10 percent material automatism [dologi automatizmus]. In 1992, we are reckoning with a 10 percent pay rise at the beginning of the year with another 5 percent rise later, and a 5 percent material regulating mechanism for the whole year.

[Kamasz] That seems rather small, even when inflation is decreasing. Do you agree?

[Naszvadi] Comparing this year's inflation and regulating mechanisms with next year's figures, the situation will not be worse in 1992, either. However, the ministries claim that, as a result of the past years, the institutional network is in such a miserable state that much more development would be needed in the mechanisms to maintain their ability to operate.

[Kamasz] How did government members react to the proposals to increase income from the economic sphere?

[Naszvadi] In theory, there is a consensus that the population cannot be directly burdened anymore. If this is true, then we have to decide from what source we will cover the expenses that are already absolutely necessary. The only thing left to do is to acquire extra income from businesses and the entrepreneurial sphere. When assessing this issue, we also have to take into consideration the fact that the population's direct burden has constantly risen in recent years while the burden on the entrepreneurial sphere has decreased.

[Kamasz] Although you claim that the burden in the economic sphere is not increasing, all interest protection organizations find the conditions of Hungarian entrepreneurs impossible.

[Naszvadi] Nevertheless, it is perfectly clear from the balance of our subsidies and their payments that their burden has not increased. The protests are very loud, just as if there were no subsidies, waivers, return of expenses, and several other such things. If these measures did not exist, then we could perhaps talk about an intolerable situation. However, the fact is that most of our extra income has come from the population's payments, and the payments of economic units has hardly changed. Our proposals will only increase the burden on businesses and the entrepreneurial sphere to a small extent in 1992.

[Kamasz] Many people claim that tax burdens increase inflation.

[Naszvadi] A budget deficit is the biggest cause of inflation. In the long term, uncovered expenses accelerate inflation much quicker than the increase in tax burdens does.

[Kamasz] Many people say that tax burdens are increasing in Hungary, even in proportion to the GDP.

[Naszvadi] Although this can be examined separately, it is not a very sensible thing in itself. Besides, a lot depends on what country we take as an example. Compared to the GDP, the share of state expenditures is also very high. In Hungary, the state cannot accept such a redistribution; if it does, tax burdens will continue to be high, whether we compare them to the GDP or to something else.

[Kamasz] The Finance Ministry plans call for a much smaller inflation rate next year, compared to this year.

Many people received this forecast rather skeptically; as you have also said, the other ministries have also expressed their doubts. What will cause a decrease in the rate of inflation next year?

[Naszvadi] Halting inflation and handling unemployment are the basic goals of our economic policy next year. Therefore, there will be no really central price increase next year, and so this will not be a cause of generating inflation. A decrease in demand will also influence prices, just like this year. However, we still expect some inflation.

[Kamasz] According to plans, a part of privatization income will be used for current budget expenses next year, something that was clearly shunned in the past as economically incorrect. What happened? Why have you changed your mind?

[Naszvadi] It is indeed economically questionable whether it is correct to use incomes deriving from privatization for current expenses; however, it is also true that the current budget is not separate from the capital budget in the Hungarian budget system. Thus, we will use the income deriving from privatization for development expenses, for example, to finance job-creating investments.

[Kamasz] How much privatization income has flowed into Hungarian National Bank accounts from the 40 billion forints planned for this year?

[Naszvadi] Some 12 billion forints.

[Kamasz] In view of this, do you still regard it as realistic that almost 20 billion forints will flow into the budget next year?

[Naszvadi] The State Auditing Office also regards this as a realistic figure.

[Kamasz] Your ministry also announced that the budget would take over the financing of some social security expenses next year. Why is this necessary?

[Naszvadi] On the basis of the budget law, the central budget continues to finance the social security deficit today, too. In the long term, we would like to see that social security only finances clearly security-based expenses, like pensions, health care, and so on. Today, there are some expenses that are not based on security, like child care allowances, and so on. The budget would take over the financing of such expenses.

[Kamasz] The ministry also wants to raise our contributions to the solidarity fund. Why is that necessary?

[Naszvadi] According to all our estimates, unemployment will increase considerably next year. The solidarity fund contributions due from the middle of this year are not enough to cover this unemployment. Our budget allocated 9 billion forints for this fund in 1991. We will also allocate more than 10 billion forints for the coming year but, unfortunately, the number of unemployed could reach 500,000 in 1992.

[Kamasz] What bargaining possibilities does the current draft budget have?

[Naszvadi] Not too many. Estimating the deficit is the main problem. The problem is not so much whether it can be financed or not—although this also makes a difference—but rather the fact that an increase in debts causes a burden that will become unbearable. Therefore, we must maintain the 70 billion forint deficit at all costs. Even so, the interest on this debt is a huge amount.

[Kamasz] What can we expect from further coordination?

[Naszvadi] After several serious and detailed debates, I think the situation is not hopeless. We have already agreed with most ministries, or agreement is not far off, so we do not have to give up the hope for an agreement.

Ministry Uneasy Over Lithuania Remarks

LD1709213691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2100 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Ministry of Foreign Affairs press spokesman Grzegorz Dziemidowicz expressed unease at the mutual exchange of accusations when addressing the statements of the director of the consular department of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who accused the Polish side of adopting a very stiff position and also of interference in the internal affairs of Lithuania. The spokesman of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs recalled that the Polish stance, our unease and fears with respect to the situation of the Poles in Lithuania, were unambiguously presented by President Lech Walesa in the letter to President Vytautas Landsbergis. Grzegorz Dziemidowicz stressed that in this letter, the president, however, mentioned not only the unease but also dialogue in the interests of Lithuania, the Poles in Lithuania, and of Poland.

Walesa Makes Personnel Changes in Chancellery

AU1809092591 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Sep 91 p 2

['pad, PS'-signed report: "Powers of Presidential Chancellery Chief Reduced"]

[Text] President Lech Walesa decided to remove the Organizational Service Unit and Political Service Unit from under the control of the chief of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Jaroslaw Kaczynski. The Political Service Unit (headed by A. Rybicki) will be placed under the authority of Presidential Press Spokesman A. Drzycimski and the Organizational Service Unit will be placed under the authority of M. Wachowski, the head of the presidential cabinet.

Asked whether this marked the beginning of the depoliticization of the chancellery announced by Lech Walesa, the Belweder Palace spokesman replied that the changes have a purely organizational character: "There was no clear responsibility until now. There were some misunderstandings. Improvements are necessary so that material is prepared directly for the president." Drzycimski added that the president "only just requested that changes be made and they have not been implemented yet."

A high-ranking presidential assistant who spoke to ZYCIE agreed that Lech Walesa's latest moves indicate that significant personnel changes in the chancellery may be made before the elections.

Party 'X' Registrations Annulled

LD1709185191 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 17—Following a decision of the Warsaw provincial court, the State Electoral Commission (PKW) Tuesday declared null and void a certificate issued to the electoral committee of Stanislaw Tyminski's "X" Party which had made it possible to register district lists of candidates without forwarding the lists of signatures.

The PKW also declared null and void all registrations of the district lists made by district electoral commissions on the basis of the said certificate.

Liberal Democrats Finalize Election List

AU1809093291 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Sep 91 p 2

[PAP report: "100 Liberal-Democratic Congress Candidates"]

[Text] On 11 September, the Main Administration of the Liberal-Democratic Congress finalized the national list of Sejm candidates to be submitted by the Liberal-Democratic Congress Election Committee. The list contains 100 names, and the first few places are occupied by: Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki; Donald Tusk, chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Congress Main Board; Janusz Lewandowski, minister of ownership transformations; Andrzej Arendarski, president of the National Economic Chamber; and Pawel Piskorski, general secretary of the Liberal-Democratic Congress. Position number 11 on the list is occupied by former minister of state Jacek Merkel; number 12 by Michal Boni, minister of labor and social policy; number 13 by Andrzej Zarebski, government press spokesman; and number 14 by Krzysztof Zabinski, the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

A total of 69 deputies will be chosen from national lists in the Sejm elections. These seats will be assigned by the State Electoral Commission on the basis of the number of votes that individual election committees obtain in the electoral districts. National lists are to be submitted to the State Electoral Commission by 22 September.

Democratic Party Chairman Zamoyski Interviewed

PM1809085691 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 7-8 Sep 91 p 4

[Interview with Jan Zamoyski, National Democratic Party chairman, by correspondent Elzbieta Graczyk; place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Zamoyski] To return to the question of reprivatization, I believe that society as a whole suffered over the past 40-odd years, and this is why everyone is now entitled to some compensation. However, the question is whether this compensation should be shared out equally, as some suggest. To distribute shares equally both to all those who owned 100 hectares and to those who had only 10? Would that be just and fair? Equally does not necessarily mean justly.

I do not believe in an economic miracle in Poland. Furthermore, the kind of reprivatization program which has been promoted recently endorses precisely the method of economic management from which we intend to depart. It endorses a system whereby the state directs and manages all industrial enterprises and major agricultural areas. After all, what is the true role of all those new ventures and companies in which the major part of the shares and the control over the board of governors are in the hands of a particular ministry? This state of affairs is nothing short of a continuation of the Polish People's Republic! [passage omitted]

[Graczyk] How do you see our Third Republic in a few years' time, or in a dozen or so years' time? As a continuation of the interwar system, or as a completely new country?

[Zamoyski] Of course, I see it as a completely new country. There has been a tremendous change in the population's fundamental mentality. I may not be a historian, but please believe me when I say that history never truly repeats itself. It only provides similar situations. We are now facing a very difficult period of return to normality. It will take at least one, or even two, generations. But the chance is there. If I did not believe that, I would not have returned to public life. If I did not believe it, I would have spent the past 40 years in Canada or somewhere else, and led a humdrum, average existence there. I speak three languages; I graduated from several faculties at universities abroad; I would have gotten by. But I remained here and I never intended to leave. My wife thought likewise. Our place has always been here.

[Graczyk] On what do you base your optimism when there are so many malcontents around us and when, moreover, there are no signs of emigres' returning to Poland with plenty of capital?

[Zamoyski] I believe that our fellow countrymen have colossal equilibristic abilities. We can make adjustments to practically any situation. And this is why I believe that in 10 years or so we can recover our economic strength and stand very firmly on our own feet. The area where recovery will still have to be made will be in the collective national mentality. This will take longer, as I said. It will take longer to make people genuinely feel that they are worthwhile Polish citizens and not just money-makers who just happen to live in this country and not elsewhere. We will be able to push Poland onto the right track once we are successful in electing a satisfactory Sejm. A sound economy, a good health service, and a correct education system for our young people are surely the most important things for every nation.

[Graczyk] What about the next parliament? Will it concentrate power in the hands of two or three strong political groups, or will it spread it among a whole series of smaller parties? Because I am afraid that Polish people will have no interest in the latter form of public activity for many years to come.

[Zamoyski] There will be time to consider all the needs. But without any doubt there will be a strong right and a strong left.

[Graczyk] Does this mean that you already eliminate outright the Center Alliance as a party placing itself at the center in terms of political orientation?

[Zamoyski] There is no center orientation. I know many Center Alliance activists really well; I also know the Kaczynski brothers. The Center Alliance is not a political option: It is political pragmatism. It is a question of the political attractiveness of the given slogans in the eyes of the public. They would like to shift the whole Center Alliance to the right. On the other hand, their entire grassroots tend towards the left. The Center Alliance leaders find themselves between the rock and the hard place. Jaroslaw Kaczynski is quite a sensible man. Once he said to me, laughing: "Can anyone become a political leader with a face like mine? Impossible!" Seriously, however, it is possible that a truly center-oriented political party will be formed in the future, but it will certainly not command any influence. Maybe it will group a variety of liberals or some similar orientation. But not the kind of liberals we have here today! We need more time; we definitely need more time.

[Graczyk] The former communist teams are leaving the stage and new ones are arriving on it. How do you perceive this new political establishment?

[Zamoyski] You are trying to provoke me into giving you my opinions on individuals. Well, to give you an example, I value Wieslaw Chrzanowski very much (I have known him for at least 20 years), even though we have not always seen eye to eye on a variety of issues. Since he was appointed minister, however, I find that we no longer speak the same language. And what about others? In my opinion, the new politicians and the new power elite lack an appreciation of what the public wants and expects of them. They only pursue their own ideas about these expectations. And this can be a dangerous path to follow. This is the first objection. The second is that neither Mazowiecki nor Bielecki managed to draw up a normal, clear-cut policy plan for agriculture or industry. Nor, for that matter, did they prepare one for our foreign policy. Admittedly, this omission is being made good by Minister Skubiszewski, one of the most intelligent people in our government. I think very highly of him. He is a truly remarkable man! But the others? I ask you! Consider this, for example: The premier goes to visit the Ursus plant without any idea of what he will encounter there! In the end, he resorts to acting out a comedy of being deeply disturbed at the news that the plant is going bankrupt. He slams the door and escapes. Well, I do not want to offend anyone, but the whole thing is a farce which will deceive only the simple-minded. It is

infantile behavior, unbecoming for grown men in positions of consequence. A politician simply must not behave like that!

[Graczyk] Thank you for talking to us.

Article Discusses Special Government Powers

PM1709083091 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 7-8 Sep 91 p 3

[Jan Sobczyk article: "How Will We Manage With a Little Less Democracy? Uncontrolled Power Corrupts Uncontrollably"]

[Text] When, more than six months ago, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki—at the time a relatively unknown figure—assumed his position as the head of the government, he was treated as prime minister for the transition period. Now, if the Sejm approves the granting of special powers to the government, the prime minister will command truly formidable authority and influence.

Until now, the Solidarity camp avoided assuming full responsibility for affairs of state. The fact that a significant part of this responsibility rested with the "contractual" Sejm was very convenient to them. After all, they could always, if necessary, reach for the argument that it was the Sejm that was blocking and upsetting all progress in this area.

At present, however, the crisis suffered by the state (and especially by the state's finances) is dramatic enough to require the application of extraordinary measures. The stability of the state as a whole is under threat. The next parliament, to be elected in October, could turn out to be hopelessly divided and incapable of forming a strong government. The president will not be in a position to guarantee the state's stability since, according to the constitution, his powers are limited. In turn, the promulgation of a new constitution could also prove impossible, since it would require the support of as many as two-thirds of all parliamentary deputies....

All political groups that trace their genesis to Solidarity should be clearly aware that the coming period will be decisive for their future. All of them (despite the differences between them, a large proportion of the Polish public treats them as basically a certain united group) face a major challenge. They seem to understand this well, because—as we know—they voted loyally in favor of giving support to Prime Minister Bielecki's government. In less than 2 months, millions of voters will decide to whom they want to entrust the fate of the country. Solidarity groups have little time left in which to demonstrate that they are the most trustworthy of all. Hence, in my opinion, their readiness to reach for the tool of special powers. The former PZPR coalition in the Sejm is about to face a difficult decision. If it rejects the government proposal, it will find it hard to explain to the voters that it is not responsible for the state's weakness in the face of the current crisis.

We can view everything that is taking place in Poland now from a slightly broader perspective. During the almost two years of rule by Solidarity-controlled cabinets, everyone was being persuaded that the main objective was to build a democratic system and an efficient, capitalist-style economy. All debate on the subject of what might happen if these two goals were to prove impossible to attain and if we were ultimately forced to make a dramatic choice was avoided like the plague. But these questions are not mere academic considerations. This is because it is not clear which social groups could provide support for a government that intends to build democracy and capitalism at the same time. It is immediately obvious that those who perceive the transformations taking place as being to their direct advantage constitute a minor proportion of our society. The dominant reaction among our public is a sense that we have lost all security, both as individuals and as groups, and a conviction that we lack any prospects for a better future. We hear more and more demands voiced by a variety of professions—demands that, if met, would seriously impede the creation of a market economy. Well, then, which is more important: democracy or a rational economy? Admittedly, things are not so desperate yet that we are forced to choose just one option. But they are desperate enough that it is being suggested that we give up a little of the new democracy and make the economy benefit from it instead. I am not enthusiastic about many of President Walesa's endeavors, but I must admit that he did raise this issue repeatedly in the past. Toward the end of 1989, even as he proposed that the Mazowiecki government be granted special powers, he also stipulated that we should give up a certain share of democratic procedures to gain wider freedom of action in the economic sphere. I do not know whether the stipulation was justified at the time, but there can be no doubt that President Walesa clearly saw even then the problem that his opponents refused to acknowledge for a long time still.

But let us return to the problems of the present day. The fundamental question is: "What does the government intend to do with the powers that it has requested? We can expect Prime Minister Bielecki to present us with a concrete action program. If he fails to do so, he cannot entertain any hopes for the Sejm's goodwill in this matter. Without awaiting official declarations, we could point to several matters in which rapid action on the government's part would be most advised. We cannot delude ourselves that decrees will prove to be a miracle cure for the recession. But there are still many problems to be solved, where all we need are good ideas as well as consistent and determined action. Most of these problems have already been pointed out by the government, but all proposals on how to tackle them have met with strong resistance from the Sejm. Let us list some of these problems here.

It is necessary to carry out a comprehensive reform of the old age pension system and to eliminate the "old and new portfolio" system [different methods of calculating

pension entitlements depending on legislation in force at the time of retirement], as well as the privileged pension entitlements applying in certain sectors. It is nothing short of scandalous that some people retiring now draw higher sums of money from various entitlements than the amount of their actual pensions. It is essential to reform the unemployment benefit system. The present system is both demoralizing and incomprehensible because, especially in large cities, there are plenty of jobs available and no people to take them. It is necessary to create a system of payment for medicines that will protect the chronically ill and the pensioners, yet offer no unjustified privileges or open the way to wasteful management and fraudulent use of resources. We must introduce a more stringent system of tax and customs tariffs. We cannot afford to confuse liberalism in the economy with an ill-conceived liberty to cheat tax officials. As of next year, everyone will be obliged to declare their own income and pay their own tax. The system will create a temptation to reduce declared revenues and to "forget" some of them. It would be quite perilous for the condition of public finances if the state (and we must remember: It is our own state!) were unable to counteract and cope with these "natural" inclinations! It is necessary to carry out a reform of the state television network and, at long last, to allow competition from private television companies. We must, once and for all, abandon the "socialist" idea of making a gift to people employed in private enterprises of a 10-percent share in these enterprises. It is very hard to understand how such a worker or engineer is superior to a railroad employee, a teacher, or a physician, whose work places are—so far—not privatized. We must establish reliable methods, whereby the state can account and compensate for the plunder of private property committed in the past. This applies not only to such cases as the postwar requisitioning of enterprises, but also to such practices as, say, robbing thousands of people of their savings by giving them a ridiculously low rate of interest in the State Savings Bank. I believe that many of us would be inclined to allow the government special powers. However, would that mean that thenceforth the Sejm, the Senate, the various parliamentary commissions, and the practices of parliamentary debate, parliamentary vote, or the mechanisms for gaining a parliamentary majority in certain controversial cases would automatically become an unnecessary and cumbersome ballast that only impedes efficient action and the effective solution of all existing problems? Could it mean that we just wish to take a rest from all those tiring and tedious civic duties? Are we not really dreaming of an ideal, enlightened prime minister who, like a brave sheriff in the Wild West, would at long last "sort things out for us all"?

Unfortunately, an ideal state ruled by a benign prime minister vested with comprehensive authority and absolute power (and aided by an equally benign president) exists only in the sphere of our imagination. The practical experience of many countries shows that democracy is still the most efficient political system, even with all the inevitable drawbacks of an occasional slowness in action and complicated electoral procedures. If, then, we are now ready to take the "short cut," it is only because our particular situation at present is indeed exceptional.

It remains to be hoped that Prime Minister Bielecki will make good use of the special powers, if they are accorded to him, but this does not necessarily mean that such a state of affairs, maintained over a long period of time, would be beneficial to Poland. To date, humanity has not managed to think up anything better than separation of the executive power apparatus (government and perhaps—at a future date—president) from the legislative power apparatus (Sejm and Senate). The government definitely does need—for its own sake!—to be closely monitored by Parliament. In addition, aside from economic difficulties, there are also other problems which we must eventually solve. For example, we still have no new constitution. The repeated introduction of successive hurried amendments to the old constitution is not really a sensible answer here. Special government powers would be in force only for a period of months, whereas a constitution should be drawn up to last for decades! Finally, let us remember that all power corrupts, but uncontrolled power corrupts uncontrollably!

Foreign Ministers Nastase, Qian Comment on Talks

AU1809211091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1805 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/9/1991—Talks were held, Tuesday, 17 September, between Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, and Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China. "I think the discussions we had this afternoon have been very fruitful. We exchanged views on the international situation and bilateral relations, said the Chinese guest. Mr. Adrian Nastase informed me about the situation in Europe, and I presented the opinion of the Chinese Government on the situation in Asia, added Qian Qichen.

For his part, Adrian Nastase said that the visit of Mr. Qichen to Bucharest was an extraordinary occasion for the Romanian party to understand what is going on in Asia, as conveyed by one of the most distinguished diplomats of the Asian Continent. We have discussed, of course, equally about international relations. There are many things we are trying to build together, on a pragmatic, natural basis, and I think that in this respect the visit of the Chinese minister to Bucharest is an extremely useful opportunity to have talks on immediate important economic and political issues, mentioned the Romanian foreign minister.

Here are further statements by the Chinese foreign minister:

I have the special pleasure to visit again the beautiful Romania, upon the invitation of the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, and I shall use this occasion to greet the Romanian people and send it my best wishes.

I am looking forward to the talks with my Romanian counterparts and to meeting the rulers of Romania, to exchange views on the development of bilateral relations between our countries.

I am sure my visit will contribute to enlarge the knowledge China and Romania have of each other, and to develop their relations of friendship and cooperation.

The peoples of China and Romania are linked by a long, traditional friendship. They have fruitfully cooperated in the spirit of mutual respect, of non-interference in the home affairs, of each other, equality and mutual advantage, of development on a common basis.

At present, China and Romania are facing similar tasks of economic development, of increasing the living standard of their peoples. The further development of their bilateral relations is in keeping with their common fundamental interest and the common yearnings of their two peoples.

Poland Dissociates Itself From Transylvania Study

AU1709135991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14-15 Sep 91 p 8

[Article by Eugen Serbanescu: "An Unclarified Situation—News Conference at the Polish Embassy"]

[Text] A news conference took place at the Polish Embassy in Bucharest on 13 September, at the beginning of which Ambassador Zygmunt Komorowski read a "statement of the Embassy of the Polish Republic regarding certain assessments published in the Romanian mass media in connection with an article in the Polish magazine SENS [no closing quotation marks as published]. From the very beginning, we were surprised that this meeting with journalists was devoted to the reaction of the Romanian press and not to the "study drawn up by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the article in SENS reports, to cooperate not only in the border areas of the trilateral group, but also with Ukrainian sub-Carpathia and Romania's Transylvania." In other words, the cause, not the effect, was discussed....

Among other things, the statement emphasizes that "the article that is being criticized and that was published in an unknown, recently published Polish magazine, SENS, was neither initiated nor authorized by Polish Government institutions...." He continued: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland has never put forward a project or postulate to the effect of involving certain areas of other states in cooperation—by means of press articles (particularly the independent press). However, we find the idea of regional cooperation and thoughts about the complementary nature of economic potential and the convergence of state interests in this area—if this is not to the detriment of the interests of others—interesting and favorable for the development of international cooperation." In an open talk with the journalists present, the ambassador then dwelled on the need to overcome this happening in the spirit of traditional Romanian-Polish friendship.

To a question by ROMANIA LIBERA on whether the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs intends to dissociate itself publicly—either in SENS or in a different publication—from the criticized article, the ambassador replied: "I do not know what plans the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has for dissociating itself. I suppose my statement, which has been authorized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is a very clear explanation and leaves no doubt."

Notwithstanding that, things are not all that clear, because to the question "Did this study exist within the framework of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs or did it not?" the ambassador replied: "I want to begin by clarifying something. When I write an article in which I refer to Napoleon, it does not mean that I am a Bonapartist. It would be better to polemicize about the given article and not about the fact that this article refers to unknown material, to a theoretical study [sentence as

published]. I have not seen a serious study on this article in the Romanian press. All sorts of studies may exist in our ministry. I suppose that the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has several collaborators and men of science.... If someone submits a study to the Ministry, that study is examined but not necessarily accepted."

Are we to understand from what the ambassador says that we are dealing here with a "trial balloon" and that scientific justification is needed to counteract the article in question and, implicitly, the proposals it puts forward?

There were other questions and answers that were interrupted at one point by a telephone call from Warsaw, during which, as the ambassador told us, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland reiterated its desire to continue positive Romanian-Polish cooperation by explaining also that the study in question was made with the best of intentions—namely, the intention to develop regional cooperation in which Romania wants so much to participate.

As far as we are concerned, we agree with the ambassador that the traditional Romanian-Polish friendship relations, proved on the basis of actions by the Romanian people throughout the years, have to be intensified to the benefit of both countries and peoples and not only to the benefit of parts of them. However, this is a positive thing that can be achieved only on the basis of conclusive actions and by no means on the basis of unclarified counteractions.

It is regrettable that the Polish diplomat was probably not authorized to fully clarify this very unhappy incident in our bilateral relations. Under such circumstances, half-measures do not serve mutual relations.

FSN's Efforts To Win Elections Viewed

AU1809095991 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Sorin M.: "Watch Out! Those in Power Show Their Teeth Again"]

[Excerpts] There is no doubt that the National Salvation Front [FSN] has begun an offensive against those parties and organizations that could endanger its position as a unique party. Through its majority in the parliament—since the "Sunday of the Blind" [reference to 20 May 1990 election day]—it advances and adopts laws that increasingly limit our fragile democratic freedoms.

With the help of laws, and also with the "tireless" assistance of the teams in Omnia Hall and the Mitropoliei Hill [reference to the location of the Senate and Deputies' Chambers], through maneuvers that do not differ in the least from the ones used in 1946, an attempt is being made to denigrate any action that is at variance with the front's own ideas. And, even if the FSN is forced by circumstances to adopt an attitude that would seem for some more "liberal" and closer to what the 1989 December revolutionaries were expecting, that attitude is slowly being modified so much that, as a matter of fact, everything remains as it was at the beginning.

Words are worthless if they are not supported with deeds.

After the failure of the 48-hour Moscow coup, as a result of the firm position taken against communist and extremist parties in our country, which was requested by the entire opposition and by numerous other organizations, the FSN, together with the other parties that signed the Charter for Democracy, also had to adopt a declaration in more conciliatory terms, but which, however, included an accusation against the Communist Party. Thus, it did not mean to ban the Communist Party, and it does not refer to all extremist or right-wing parties!

Moreover, the current president, upon returning from his visit to Israel, made a declaration clearly expressing that he opposes such measures, which he does not consider...democratic measures.

Mr. Iliescu's declaration, which does not differ at all from commentaries by Ilie Verdet [leader of the Socialist Party of Labor], encouraged a flow of commentaries by parliament members, who were somehow bewildered by the first such stand. [passage omitted]

There is something else that one could add for the attention of our whole nation.

Local elections are approaching. The FSN "succeeded" in bringing the country to the threshold of disaster during its short period of governing. To divide and confuse the electorate as much as possible, which does not welcome it happily any longer, the FSN has resumed its campaign of denigrations. Using television as the major weapon of propaganda, it will present every action that might damage its position as a destabilizing action. Probably an increase in salaries and a slight improvement of supplies will follow, and this will be achieved with other loans of hundreds of millions of dollars. It will do everything to definitively win power. And all this will be followed by the second, revised edition of the golden era. Yes, that is what will follow, if the electorate casts its vote again with closed eyes, hoping again that others will help! Wake up good fellows!

PNTCD Calls For Resignation of TV Leadership

AU1709111391 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[Statement by National Peasant Christian Democratic Party Press Bureau: "In Connection With the Anti-democratic Attitude of the Romanian Television"]

[Text] Romanian Television, serving the current leadership in spite of all appearances, continues to seriously discriminate against opposition groups—above all, the

National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]—to falsify realities in Romania and to misinform the public.

Romanian Television is interfering in political life in an unacceptable way—although its role is totally different—and violates the right to free expression and the right to have free access to true information. One of the misinformation methods used is the refusal to broadcast or the incorrect broadcast of the PNTCD's position on certain important events that are currently taking place in our country or abroad.

Thus, just to refer to some recent incidents, on 27 August 1991, the day of the independence declaration of the Republic of Moldova, the PNTCD was the only political group that organized a big rally in Bucharest and throughout the country to support the Republic of Moldova's independence. That day, during the "Current Events" news program at 2000, long and stuffy speeches about this event delivered by the Romanian president, the prime minister, the National Salvation Front [FSN] president, and representatives of the FSN satellites were broadcast. Even handicraft cooperatives and mass and civic organizations were mentioned. Only at the end of the program did the Romanian Television reporter say one sentence about a rally held by the PNTCD, but without reporting, in at least one or two paragraphs, the most important speeches delivered at that rally, and—we repeat—this was the only mass rally organized in Bucharest to support Moldova's independence.

On 19 August 1991, the PNTCD leadership issued a communique that condemned the Moscow coup in no uncertain terms, and the communique was handed over to television two an a half hours before the government's communique. The Romanian Television categorically refused to broadcast the PNTCD communique, thus harming our party. On the other hand, a first personal reaction by one of our leaders was broadcast in curtailed form, and, thus, our party's position was distorted in this way.

One might say that, considering the way in which Romanian Television acted, it sided with the initiators of the Moscow coup and represented those who had similar feelings.

On Friday, 5 September 1991, a representative of Vatra Romaneasca attacked the PNTCD in a communique read on television for about eight minutes. However, on 6 September, Romanian Television refused to grant us the right to reply to the attack, a right that is provided by every democratic system in the world—that is, it refused to broadcast live a two-minute reply to the attack, asking us to submit a written text or a cassette containing the text, to be checked beforehand.

We most categorically protest the Romanian Television's antidemocratic attitude, and we draw the attention of the Romanian and international public and the embassies in Bucharest to the fact that the right of free expression in Romania is being seriously violated by the leadership of Romanian Television, which is completely in the pay of the cryptocommunist leadership.

The current leadership of Romanian Television assumes a serious responsibility for the fact that it persists in sabotaging the forces that are acting to establish democracy in Romania.

Considering that in many cases it has been proved how grossly it misinforms the Romanian public, we join the voice of public opinion in Romania and call for the resignation of the leadership of the Romanian Television, a measure that is one of the immediate requirements in the process of our country's democratization.

The PNTCD Press Department

Federal

President Mesic Reaffirms Plans To Step Down

LD1809090691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0823 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Madrid, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic told Spanish radio last night that Yugoslavia "only exists in words" and that he will cease to be the president of a country that "ceased to exist."

"Yugoslavia does not exist any more. It only exists in words. After 7 October, when Slovenia and Croatia ratify their independence, I do not wish any longer to be the president of a country that has ceased to exist."

Mesic appealed to Spain in the interview to recognize Slovenia and Croatia, through the EC and on its own. "That is the only way," he said, "to return peace to Yugoslavia."

Mesic shifted the responsibility to Serbia and the federal Army for the failure to accept the cease-fire, labelling Milosevic as Saddam Husayn. "We Croats are ready to observe the cease-fire agreement that was initiated by Lord Carrington, but neither the Serbs nor the Army will be for that."

International Telephone Lines Disrupted

LD1709184291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Telephone links between Yugoslavia and most West European countries have been obstructed since September 16, due to communication disruptions in the republic of Croatia.

Long-distance telephone links in the whole country are also obstructed, as the Yugoslav PTT community announced today.

Disruptions in telecommunications have been caused by decisions of certain organs in Croatia, outside the PTT system. Communications with the United States, Canada and Australia unfold normally, since they are mainly transmitted through statellite stations in Ivanjica.

Unlike telephone links, mail and parcel service is normal in the whole country, exept in areas where post offices are closed, the announcement said.

Presidency Official Comments on Mesic Letter to UN

LD1709180491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 September (TANJUG)—In view of the fact that an announcement was made that SFRY Presidency members will, among other issues, examine at their session today a letter of SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic to the UN Security Council, TANJUG asked the SFRY Presidency secretary general to give a statement in connection with this. SFRY Presidency Secretary General Anton Stari informed TANJUG that SFRY Presidency members were informed at a meeting today about the content of the letter which was made public by some information media.

In this connection the SFRY Presidency secretary general stated the following:

"According to the constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the SFRY Presidency book of procedure, the SFRY Presidency, as a collective head of state, represents the state in Yugoslavia and abroad, is the supreme body of command of the armed forces in times of war and peace, and takes stands in the sphere of foreign policy and state security, while the SFRY Presidency president, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, represents the country and the Presidency, signs legal documents endorsed by the Presidency, and supervises their implementation. This means that his powers stem from the rights which the SFRY Presidency, as collective head of state, enjoys according to the Constitution and its book of procedure.

"The SFRY Presidency did not endorse, within the scope of its powers, any decision to invite peace-keeping forces of the United Nations or any other forces to Yugoslavia. Therefore, the SFRY Presidency president did not have a decision of the SFRY Presidency as a basis for sending the official letter, and hence his letter can only be considered an expression of his personal views, not an official invitation on behalf of the SFRY," Anton Stari, secretary general of the SFRY Presidency, said in his statement for TANJUG.

Mobilization Drive Launched in Parts of 4 Republics

LD1709153591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1016 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade press today reports that a large-scale mobilization drive has been launched in parts of the Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia.

A 'large war unit' has been mobilized in the eastern Hercegovinian town of Trebinje, and the reason given is the 'worsened situation in Yugoslavia, particularly in the Republic of Croatia', writes BORBA.

The daily adds that a large number of volunteers have signed up.

In the town of Valjevo in the Republic of Serbia, the 'competent military authorities are calling up the reservists to report to the war unit' which, the daily learns unofficially, numbers some 14,000 men.

The territorial defence command in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina has also decided to mobilize part of its war units.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA reports that the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem in the Republic of Croatia has ordered mobilization of all able-bodied men aged from 20 to 55 years.

'The general mobilization order has been issued in view of an escalation of the conflict in the region, where the fighting was the worst in the past two days,' explains the daily.

Mobilization of two war units was ordered in Montenegro on Saturday.

Naval Order Institutes Naval Blockade of Some Ports

LD1709155991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 September (TANJUG)—The information service of the Command of the Naval District has issued the following statement today:

"On the basis of an order from a higher command, the Command of the Naval District has today reached a decision to carry out a naval blockade from 0600 [0400 GMT] on 17 September of the following ports: Pula, Rijeka, Zadar, Sibenik, Split, Ploce, and Dubrovnik.

"This decision bans the entry into and exit out of these ports. Each violation of this decision will be settled according to the rules of the war use of the navy force.

"The Command of the Naval District decided to issue this order because of complete blockades which lasted for several days of barracks, military schools and academies, hospitals and other army facilities and also because of mass-scale maltreatment of officers in all situations. Army units were not supplied with electricity, water, food, medical equipment and other necessities for days.

"At the same time, many army facilities were attacked in an abject way by the Croatian National Guard Corps and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

"We have tried in all possible ways, through official government bodies, crisis headquarters and other bodies, to secure the settlement of conflicts in a peaceful way. Although some official bodies gave promises, the situation has not calmed down, but on the contrary, has escalated to armed attacks on army facilities and units," the statement of the Naval District Command says in conclusion.

Air Force Command Confirms Two Aircraft Shot Down

LD1709184591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—The Air Force Command's information office announced that two aircraft were shot down today near Sarvas and Novska while on combat missions.

The pilot of the aircraft downed near Sarvas ejected and has returned to his unit. A search is under way for the second plane and its pilot.

Air Force Denies Bombing Zagreb

LD1709191591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Air Force has not been bombing Zagreb or any other town in Croatia, a high- ranking officer of the Air Force Command told TANJUG this evening.

The same source stressed that "the Air Force is only acting and will continue to do so in future against those forces which attack units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army."

International

France on European Military Involvement in Crisis

LD1709192391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Paris, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Europe's military engagement to separate the warring sides in Yugoslavia could be taken into consideration only if all sides in the conflict consented, as the French Foreign Ministry announced today.

"Only in this case, the (military) engagement would be in keeping with the international law," the announcement said.

On the other hand, the French right-wing is increasingly resolute in its demand that the country's socialist government should "recognize Croatia and Slovenia as soon as possible."

Croatia and Slovenia are two Yugoslav republics which have decided to secede from Yugoslavia.

Tudjman Comments on Igalo Talks, Cease-Fire Agreement

LD1709185391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Franjo Tudjman, president of the republic of Croatia, said upon returning from Igalo that signing the cease-fire should mean that

war may have been avoided, even though northern Croatia was already destroyed.

Kadijevic signed the truce at a time when the "Yugoslav Army has been shaken by heavy defeats it has suffered from us over recent days," Tudjman said.

The Croatian president added that it was agreed that the truce would come into effect at 1200 [1000 GMT] on 18 September.

"We will observe it if they do, but we will not give up an inch of independent, sovereign Croatia," Tudjman said.

Franjo Tudjman's statement was broadcast by Croatian television at the beginning of its main evening news bulletin.

Serbian Foreign Minister Comments on Igalo Agreement

AU1709200491 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serbia, by unidentified news announcer—live]

[Text] [Announcer] The guest of Newscast 2 is Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of Serbia.

Good evening. You have just returned from Igalo. Could you please briefly speak to our viewers about the talks with Lord Carrington and, of course, comment on this cease-fire agreement which is receiving such attention and from which the people expect so much.

[Jovanovic] Thank you. First of all, I would like to say that we truly appreciate the constructive role and good intentions of Lord Carrington as chairman of the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia, who is not sparing effort and ability to both bring into contact different people in Yugoslavia and establish contact points and harmonize views on the essential issue of cease-fire, which is also one of the essential preconditions for successful continuation of the dialogue and work of the conference.

This time an agreement has been reached for the truce to be absolutely respected as of 1200 [as heard] tomorrow. We hope that this time the side that has been the only culprit and which is the most responsible for the violation of the truce, the Croatian side, will respect the agreement that has been reached. This will mean the end to armed attacks on Serbian villages in Croatia and that paramilitary organizations which, as we know, were the cause of all these clashes and caused so much evil to the civilian population in Croatia, will be disbanded.

We have always been in favor of all issues being resolved in a peaceful way rather than through fighting. We have always believed and still believe that lasting solutions cannot be found in war but only peace and that dialogue, a democratic framework of talks, and political solutions are the way we should all embark on not only to resolve the current situation in Croatian, but also to find a solution to the general state-political crisis in Yugoslavia. We believe that during the absolute cease-fire this way will facilitate the full application of the principles which our republic, as everyone knows, tirelessly strives for. These principles include the principle of self-determination. Not only will this remove tensions, suspicion, and mistrust in these efforts to find a joint solution, but it will also enable all sides to satisfy their interests and indeed find relief in the solution that would at the same time be democratic, principled, and deeply humane. In this respect, we believe that the absolute cessation of hostilities and the strict respect of the agreement on the truce will this time be effective and become reality, and that this will positively affect the further work of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, which resumes its plenary session on Thursday. Meanwhile, the two working groups set up last week continue with their meetings.

[Announcer] Minister Jovanovic, thank you for coming to our studio directly from this meeting.

Danish EC Observer Wounded in Zagreb

AU1809141791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] TANJUG has just learned from military sources that a member of the EC observers' mission, the Dane (?Mogens Fokdal) was wounded last night during the attack by the Croatian forces on the building of the Command of the Fifth Military District in Zagreb in which some of the members of the mission were accommodated.

The building of the Fifth Military District is situated in the center of Zagreb. According to military sources, the observers mission decided to put the group of observers in Zagreb in the building of the Command of the Fifth Military District in order to maintain contact with the Yugoslav People's Army.

Slovenia

Unemployment Increases 70 Percent

AU1809080991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] In June, 75,430 persons were out of work in Slovenia. The number of unemployed rose by 4.5 percent in June, and by a staggering 70 percent in comparison to the same month last year. An additional 7,238 persons registered with the Employment Office and almost 3,500 of them got jobs. The level of unemployment was the highest in the Ljubljana and Maribor region.

An average personal income in Slovenia in July amounted to 9,954 dinars. In production, the salaries were on average 9,756 dinars and in non-production

10,934 dinars, which is 11 percent higher than in June. In July, personal incomes increased most in agriculture, forestry, and the financial sector.

Croatia

Croatian Defense Minister Bebic Resigns

LD1809180591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] We have just received a piece of news from HINA: Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today accepted the resignation of Defense Minister Luka Bebic. According to the president's office, the president appointed Gojko Susko, current deputy defense minister and minister for emigration of the Republic of Croatia, as the new defense minister. Ivan Milas has been appointed the new deputy defense minister.

Tudjman Dismisses Commander of Territorial Force

LD1709151891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1345 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 17 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, today dismissed the commander of the Croatian Territorial Defence (TD), Lieutenant- General Zdravko Novoselic.

The decision was explained by the fact that Novoselic 'refused to cooperate with authorized bodies of the Republic of Croatia' and 'acted against the interests of the Republic's defence'.

The decision was today published in the Croatian daily 'NARODNE NOVINE', the official republican newspaper. NARODNE NOVINE also published a decree on the firing of workers of the Croatian TD staff and the staffs of TD operative zones because 'they refused to cooperate with the legal organs of the Republic of Croatia in matters of defence'.

Tudjman News Conference on Cease-Fire

LD1709222191 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 17 Sep 91

[News conference with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and foreign and domestic reporters in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpt] [Tudjman] [Passage omitted: Tudjman reads the two agreements signed in Igalo on 17 September] Like me, you all are probably thinking that this is one of I-do-not-know-how-many agreements on a cease-fire and truce. However, it should be said that for the first time such an agreement contains a signature of the head of the Army, i.e. of Army General Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense. The talks in Igalo which were conducted separately, with Lord Carrington present,—the presidents of the republics and separately with the representatives of the Army and jointly—were also attended by Army Chief of the General Staff Adzic. [sentence as heard]

In other words, for the first time a cease-fire agreement was signed by the people most responsible for current aggression against Croatia: Slobodan Milosevic and Kadijevic. During the talks we had afterwards, both with Lord Carrington and separately, they stated that they wanted peace.

In view of the fact that the Army has been shaken by the blows it received from Croatian defense forces in recent days, it is possible that we have a reason to believe them. However, at the same time, those in Croatia, if asked why we, why I, agreed to attend these talks—this is not clear to many—and why I decided to sign, as far as I am concerned this is the reason: We in Croatia have so far had—I do not have today's reports available—but as of yesterday we had 449 dead, probably after the fighting overnight and today this number will rise to 500. Even during the talks today attacks were repeated in Croatia with the Air Force, artillery, mortars, etc. In other words, if by my signature and by talking I have helped to prevent further casualties, another 500, or even 5,000 or 50,000, and [damage to] another Osijek cathedral-...[changes thought] I heard today that the cathedral in Sibenik has been damaged and that there was a fire in Varazdin. So, this shaken but technically equipped army had Croatia as its target. And if we have succeeded in preventing further casualties among Croatians and the destruction of Croatian towns and villages, then this is a victory for peace which we all need.

It must be clear, however, that we shall not for one moment abandon our resolution, expressed by the people at the referendum, that we want a sovereign and independent Croatia.

That the situation is difficult and that in such a situation it is hard to know what one is doing is borne out by the fact that while I was in the talks, negotiating, someone in Croatia passed a decision that Croatian defense forces should stop firing. Such a decision was made without my knowledge and those who made it will be called to account.

This indicates how easy it is to think about an all-out war when that war is not there at the threshold, when there are no blackouts in towns, and when it is being waged far away in Slavonija or Dalmatia.

I thought it necessary [to make these remarks] to avoid confusion and the abuse by those who either with flippancy or dilettantism or as a provocation judge our difficult circumstances. In my view this agreement that we signed will further promote the Croatian policy as pursued by this leadership. By our strength we have demonstrated that those who planned this aggression against Croatia and who planned to conquer Croatian lands could not defeat us. We have also shown to Europe, which is interested in peace, that we are for peace above

all in order, as I put it, to prevent further suffering and destruction in Croatia and also to be in harmony with general trends in the world, which wants a stable international order, which does not want war. In any case, this dirty war in Croatia is the only war on Earth. There is no war in Asia of Africa or any other territory—and we in Croatia have been provoked into one. We were forced to accept the war, we trained oursleves for a defensive war, and as a result we dealt a blow to the aggressor, but at the same time we were and still remain prepared to accept a peaceful solution. By our signature we have demonstrated this once again.

I said in Dubrovnik that I hoped that the part of Croatia—the only part of Croatia, southern Croatia around Dubrovnik—to be spared, that perhaps we have ensured that it does not become engulfed in this war. I also said that we were not and will never be naive. That is all ladies and gentlemen. Any questions?

[Kuzec] Kuzec from Croatian TV. Mr. President, evidently whenever Croatia signs a cease-fire agreement, it receives even harder blows and bloodier consequences. I ask you how long is the Croatian leadership prepared to go on signing cease-fire agreements according to the methods, models and the timing of the EC when the situation after these agreements is even more tragic and painful for Croatia?

[Tudjman] I have already answered that question.

[Tudjen] Branko Tudjen from VECERNJI LIST. I should like to know if there was reference to the finer points of the cease-fire agreement and if any other protagonist, including Lord Carrington, mentioned international forces as one of possible solutions?

[Tudjman] No, reference was not made to the fine points. As far as the international forces are concerned, Lord Carrington found it necessary to pursuade us again that we could not count on any international force, either peace-keeping or peace-making ones. This was also the reason why we accepted a statement which initially was vague but which at my request was put in more concrete terms as regards obligations which will ensure this.

[Journalist] [name indistinct] of the Netherlands. Mr. President, in July there was a moment when it was said that Croatian democracy was under threat.

[Tudjman] Sorry, I did not hear you. What is happening with that microphone?

[Journalist] Mr. President, in July you told us at a news conference that Croatian democracy was under threat. I think that at that time there were differences about the way of conducting the war. You have just mentioned something about the cease-fire order. Would you say that a similar threat still exists?

[Tudjman] Well, I think that that comparison does not stand because since July a great deal has happened and both we who are defending Croatia and those who planned and spread aggression and the EC have gained enough experience.

[Journalist] [words indistinct] that the Army is prepared to withdraw from the locations which it has occupied, and not only the Army but the terrorist groups.

[Tudjman] The agreement envisages the Army's withdrawal to barracks. This means its withdrawal from Baranja, the withdrawal of the Army from Okucani, the withdrawal of the Army from Maslenicki Bridge and from any area where it left the barracks to occupy those locations and to draw what it has drawn [as heard]. The agreement also envisages the disarming of all irregular units, and there should be no misunderstanding that both the Croatian defense forces and Croatia would know how to establish constitutional order on the territory of the entire republic.

[Journalist] What will happen to General Aksentijevic?

[Tudjman] General Aksentijevic is in the hands of the Croatian Defense forces and will remain there for as long as necessary. By the way, no one was allowed to raise the issue of General Aksentijevic.

[Journalist] [name indistinct] for Macedonian radio. You said that from tomorrow the Army will have to return to barracks. Does that mean that the Croatian armed forces which captured these barracks will now have to give them back?

[Tudjman] No. Croatia will not withdraw from its own territory or from anything else it has captured.

[Journalist] German Television. I should like to know who will monitor the cease-fire. We only have the EC observers here and you said that international forces would be involved. Who will monitor?

[Tudjman] All three of us, all the signatories, have pledged to facilitate the control by the EC observers. No reference was made to details but these details were mentioned in previous cease-fire agreements and the memorandum providing for the observers.

[Journalist] Mr. President, you said that the Army will have to return to barracks, to withdraw from the Maslenicki Bridge, Baranja, Okucani.

[Tudjman] You are not going to ask me what will happen to the ships? [laughter]

[Journalist] Yes, even what will happen with the ships. Are they going to lift the blockade of all Adriatic ports?

[Tudjman] Of course.

[Journalist] The reason why I am asking this is because the first cease-fire agreement signed with the EC on 2 September also mentioned the withdrawal of the Army to the barracks, but the Army interpreted it in its own way. You told Mr. Tudjen that the finer points were not

discussed. Was this detail settled? And one more question. Does the fact that General Kadijevic has signed the agreement mean that Europe has eventually recognized that a military putsch has taken place in Yugoslavia?

[Tudjman] Europe recognizes that the Army is not just involved in the war but that it is also carrying out aggression together with Serbia. That is the meaning. And it is understandable that the withdrawal of the Army implies the withdrawal of the ships to their bases. Some changes have taken place since 2 September, including the fact that we have captured about 60 barracks, military institutions, units, etc. But to stop people from saying naively, well, now that we have dealt such a blow to the Army why did we have to go for an agreement, I wish to stress: Let it be clear that, yes, we have captured these, but they were nevertheless smaller units and that the Army, shaken but enraged, still has in its hands hundreds of tanks, all the aircraft, except about 10 which we shot down, and the ships with their guns targeted on our ports.

In other words, we have not, and I doubt that we could have, defeated the Army completely. But it is quite certain that the Army would be still capable of inflicting heavy losses on us, 10 or even 100 times worse than so far. This is the purpose of these negotiations, of these attempts to, as I said, achieve our sovereignty, our independence with as few casualties as possible, in peace and with the help of the EC which is interested but which will not impose its solutions. Thank you.

Croatian Forces Claim Two-Thirds of Army Barracks

LD1709154891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1217 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 17 September (TANJUG)—"Over the past two days almost two-thirds of the barracks of the former Yugoslav Army in Croatia have come into the hands of the Croatian defense forces," Davor Domazet, a representative of the Croatian defense forces, stated today at the news conference in the [Croatian] Assembly.

Journalists did not receive a precise answer to a question about the concrete actions "of the defense forces," and about the number of "overrun barracks". However, Domazet stressed that "the surrender of soldiers and officers, together with their arms, is taking place more rapidly than was expected." The latest organizational measures within the "occupying army, which is drawing recruits from reservists in Vojvodina, Serbia, and parts of Bosnia is designed to halt the further fall of the barracks," Domazet said.

"We are prepared to stop all fresh army efforts," Domazet claimed.

Air Force Raids Osijek Industrial Facilities

LD1709160591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] This just in: An air raid on all significant Osijek industrial facilities is under way. The Saponija, Olto, and Lio works, as well as a sugar refinery and other factories in Osijek, are being bombed.

Vukovar 'Almost Completely Destroyed' in Fighting

LD1709164691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1406 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Fierce clashes continued in and around Vukovar today, and Croatian radio reported the town was "almost completely destroyed."

Serbian Radio Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem, monitored in Novi Sad, reported today that the Croatian forces have been fiercely attacking the stronghold of Serbian territorial units of Borovo Selo, around ten kilomemters northeast from Vukovar, for four days now.

Vukovar has been under siege by Serbian territorials [as received] from neighbouring villages for over ten days, and Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units have been positioned on all roads leading to the town.

Croatian forces have encircled the JNA barracks in central Vukovar. Military sources say the garrison is resisting successfully.

Territorial units are advancing towards Vukovar and have already entered the town, where street clashes are going on, as Serbian sources say.

Croatian radio did not report a breakthrough of Serbian territorial units to Vukovar, but said the Croatian forces have caused "immense losses to the occupation army," "killed very many soldiers," and demolished 43 tanks and two planes.

Military sources denied the allegations about heavy losses and said two soldiers were killed and ten wounded in the clashes around Vukovar in the past several days. No tanks or combat vehicles were demolished, military sources said.

The Boka naval center today banned navigation in the area of the city of Dubrovnik. All islands along the Dalmatian coast have been cut off from the world since ferry lines were been suspended. Telephone lines are also busy and often cut.

Schools in Dalmatia, and the islands of Korcula and Lastovo communes are closed until next week.

The inhabitants of Makarska are anxiously waiting for information from the crisis committee. Air raid sirens sounded on Monday, but it was a false alarm.

The military rest center Basko Polje has surrendered to the Croatian forces in Makarska. The crisis committee of

Makarska said the JNA communication center on Mt. Biokovo had also surrendered. Two officers and eight soldiers surrendered without firing a bullet, as the crisis committee set out.

The JNA Knin corps today continued its operation on a broad front towards the coast to unblock its depots and garrisons in Dalmatia.

Artillery activities were reported near Knin around 11.00 a.m. today, and tanks joined in the fighting in Drnis, 24 kilometers south of Knin. Eyewitnesses say Drnis is hidden in a cloud of smoke, from where civilians had earlier fled.

Radio Knin quoted the crisis committee of the Knin hospital as saying that the bodies of six JNA soldiers and members of the Krajina territorial defence were brought to the hospital.

'Real War' in Varazdin; Gospic Air Attack

LD1709225391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2210 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] A real war has been raging in Varazdin for seven hours now. Since 1745 [1545 GMT], when Varazdin came under bombardment, one enemy jet has been downed. A rain of mortar and sniper fire is being unleashed on Varazdin by the fifth column. Croatia's defense forces are ferociously defending themselves. The fire in Varazdin's barracks bears witness to this.

At 2315, two aircraft appeared over Gospic and launched [word indistinct] rockets. Afterward, they strafed the entire area of Gospic and dropped bombs. According to our information, there have been no fatalities.

Vukovar 'Citizens' Down 4 Planes, Destroy 70 Tanks

LD1809090291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] After a short lull, battles in Vukovar started around 0830 this morning. Courageous citizens of Vukovar, who will surely be mentioned in all books describing the defense of their own country and homes, are offering strong resistance to the occupying forces. Their success is best confirmed by the fact that they destroyed 70 tanks, shot down four aircraft and liquidated at least 700 members of the Yugoslav Army and their Chetnik collaborators.

'Demented Yugo Generals' Attack Valpovo, Belisce

LD1809093391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Demented Yugo generals and their followers, obviously having suffered huge losses in Osijek, Vinkovci, and Vukovar and still not managing to break the resistance of the population there, have started attacking other towns in Slavonija. This morning, the Yugo Army and its Chetnik hangers-on attacked Valpovo and Belisce with all kinds of weapons. All targets are being fired at every half hour. A gasometer in Belisce was hit, a part of Valpovo is without electricity, and one person sustained injuries during the attacks.

Croatian Spokesman Confirms Zagreb Air Raid

LD1709213791 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Interview with unidentified spokesman for the Croatian information center by unidentified announcer in Zagreb on 17 September—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Tell us, an air raid alert has just been sounded throughout the entire territory of Croatia.

[Spokesman] Yes, you are right. Our citizens must have probably heard that we have just been overflown by a MiG. It first dropped several flares to spot its target and then carried out its bombardment of the Croatian television transmitter on Mt. Sljeme. [passage omitted]

Army Helicopters Approaching Zagreb

LD1709223891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2210 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The republic's crisis headquarters reports that several Army helicopters are flying over Nova Gorica. A group of helicopters is also flying toward Zagreb from Ivanic Grad. Another group of helicopters is approaching Zagreb from the direction of Velika Kladusa. They have already flown past Karlovac, and it is obvious that they will land somewhere around Samobor—that is, the northern slopes of Mt. Sljeme. [passage omitted]

Air-Raid Alert Declared Throughout Croatia

LD1709223591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2217 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 17 (TANJUG)—An air raid alert was given in Zagreb, for the fourth time, at 23:00 hrs local time today (21:00 GMT).

Before the alert, explosions were heard in central Zagreb, and also anti-aircraft fire at 23:30 hrs.

After the air raid alert, Croatian radio said that the alert was announced in the entire territory of Croatia.

This is the first time that a threat of an air attack is declared in the entire territory of the republic.

Air Force Damages Mt. Kalnik Transmitter

LD1709233291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2310 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] The republican information center reports that combat aircraft have taken off from Split airport toward Zagreb. One Air Force aircraft flew to the Krizevci area, where it released its lethal load on Mt. Kalnik. The relay transmitter there was hit during the attack [word indistinct] out of action.

Air Raid Warnings Continue in Croatian Towns

LD1809090191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The air raid alert that sounded in many towns throughout Croatia at around 0900 is still in force. We shall repeat that the sirens went off in Zagreb, Ivanic-Grad, Krapina, Kutina, Pregrada, Klanjec, [word indistinct], Dugo Selo, Zlatar Bistrica, Vrbovec, Zabok, Donja Stubica, Krizevci, Sisak, Cakovec, Ludbreg, Varazdin, Koprivnica, Jastrebarsko, and since a little while ago, in Split.

All-Clear Sirens Sounded in Zagreb, Split, Sisak

LD1809094791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] At 1055, the all-clear siren was sounded in Zagreb. A little before that, the all-clear was also sounded in Split. We have learned that the citizens of Sisak also left their shelters after the all-clear had been sounded.

We have also learned that all roads going through Dugo Selo are closed this morning. Antitank mines have been placed on these roads. As reported by HINA, everything is ready to destroy bridges, should there be any army movements. The reason for these measures was the starting of tank engines in the Dugo Selo barracks.

Air Raid Sirens Sounded for Third Time in Zagreb

LD1809122391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] About 15 minutes ago air raid sirens sounded in Zagreb for the third time today. Sirens were also sounded in Sisak, Varazdin, Sveti Ivan in the Zelina area, Koprivnica, Krizevci, and all municipalities in Zagorje. The military junta again showed how much it abides by its agreement because only 30 minutes ago we announced that the Command of the Fifth Military District and the Croatian leadership had reached an agreement under which aircraft which were advancing toward Zagreb were returned to their bases.

Army Aircraft Bomb Slavonski Brod

LD1809110391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1028 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] At 0950 Yugoslav Army aircraft attacked the area of the municipality of Slavonski Brod, and immediately after that, air raid sirens sounded. We have learned that Yugoslav Army aircraft are dropping bombs on Gromacnik and [word indistinct] near Slavonski Brod, from where we can hear the sound of powerful explosions. The inhabitants of Slavonski Brod are again in their shelters, where they went in a disciplined way and without panic, and while we are now reporting this, explosions are unfortunately still taking place.

Zagreb Radio Urges Citizens To Take Shelter

LD1809102391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Dear listeners, we shall repeat at the beginning of this bulletin the list of Croatian towns in which air raid alerts were sounded again. These are Zagreb, Ivanic-Grad, Karlovac, Sisak, Sibenik, and Sinj. The reason for this air raid alert is that two army aircraft set off from Sisak toward Ivanic-Grad and Zagreb.

We are warning citizens to go to air raid shelters by all possible means, if they have not done so yet, because if the insane occupying forces fail to attack the first time, they can still try again. It is more than clear that such provocations are upsetting the citizens and are trying to cause panic. But there is no reason to panic, because the Croatian forces are in full control of the situation and will reply to every possible attack.

Serbia

Serbian Foreign Minister Opposes Peace Force

LD1809090891 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladimir Jovanovic, by telephone from Belgrade, by correspondent Nicholas Owen in London on 16 September; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Owen] I asked him [Jovanic] first, on the line from Belgrade, whether he would welcome the dispatch of a European force to Yugoslavia.

[Jovanovic] You know, we speak to the conference on Yugoslavia, which has been proposed by the community and is taking place in The Hague under the auspices, we can say, and the close cooperation of the community. So as long as this conference goes on, there is no justified reason to talk about alternatives, efforts, or other ways of trying to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia. On the other side, our position has always been, and still is, that we

don't want to see any foreign military presence in Yugoslavia. What we need, what we welcome, is offer of good offices and offer of good assistance in order to get closer to the views of Yugoslav federal units and to facilitate the efforts to bring them together, around a table, to find an all around solution to the Yugoslav problem.

[Owen] If European countries say they do agree on this, they do decide they want to send the force, what then? Are you saying, it will be rejected, prevented from coming in? What?

[Jovanovic] You know, our position is well known. We are opposed to any foreign military presence in Yugoslavia, and we do not believe there is any need for that. What we need is one objective, impartial, level-headed approach to the situation and support for the efforts to reach political peace with a democratic solution to the problem. We don't want to see any encouragement of the in Russia successionism [as heard], or any siding, or openly, we decided that hopefully declared its intentions to pursue the war in Croatia, both against the Serbian people and the object [as heard] units of the Yugoslav army.

Jovic Predicts More Fighting in Croatia

AU1709111591 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Statement by Borisav Jovic, president of the Socialist Party of Serbia, at a news conference after a session of the Socialist Party of Serbia on forthcoming local elections, in Belgrade on 16 September—recorded]

[Text] Now that Europe has seen what is happening, that the policy of breaking up Yugoslavia, the creation of illegal armies in Croatia and Slovenia, the policy of attacking and declaring war on the Yugoslav People's Army, and virtually stripping the Serbian people of their ethnic rights are the main reason for the Yugoslav crisis, and that they have felt that Europe, at least most of the European countries—although some countries still have some strategic interests in this region—will take a just stand and accept a peaceful solution that would include the right of all peoples to self-determination, including the right of the Serbian people in Croatia, the Croatian authorities have been brought up short, reconsidered, and decided, at least in my, our view, to try to solve the problem in the way they started it, which means with arms, still expecting that somebody from outside will help them to accomplish this military victory.

This will most probably lead in the near future to even fiercer clashes in Croatia, because neither the Yugoslav People's Army nor the Serbian people [Jovic corrects himself] the Serbian people in Croatia will allow either the destruction of the members of the Yugoslav People's Army in Croatia, which would be a special kind of genocide of an armed force that is stronger than them [Croats], nor the destruction of the Serbian people in Croatia, and will be forced, whether they like it or not, to respond more fiercely.

If the Croatian authorities do not come to their senses, the outcome of this can only be their defeat. Therefore, a peaceful solution will ultimately be in their interest, but it is a big question whether they will decide in favor of it now or whether they will realize this later.

Army Launches 'General Offensive' in Dalmatia

LD1809052291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2306 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Bosanska Gradiska/Knin/Split, September 17 (TANJUG)—Members of the Croatian Police tonight attacked positions of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) near Okucani, Mali Strug and Nova Varos, western Slavonia, shortly before 22:00 hrs local time today.

Members of the Banja Luka Corps returned fire.

Chief of Staff of the Knin Corps Colonel Ratko Mladic told TANJUG that fighting was underway also in Drnis and Sibenik, central Dalmatia, although at 16:30 hrs local time Croatian Republican Defence Minister Luka Bebic ordered the Interior Ministry forces and the National Guard Corps to deblockade the barracks and other military facilities.

Fifteen casualties were admitted to the Knin Hospital, including one woman and one national guardsmen. The others were members of the Knin Corps. None of the patients are in critical condition, Dr. Tomislav Nedic said.

Croatian Government Commissioner for Northern and Central Dalmatia Drago Krpina told a special press conference in Zagreb that 'the Yugoslav undisciplined soldiery of aggression and occupation last night and today launched a general offensive against Dalmatia.'

Meanwhile, presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Croatia—Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, Yugoslav Defence Minister Army General Veljko Kadijevic, and chairman of the Yugoslavia peace conference in The Hague Lord Carrington today signed a joint statement about a ceasefire becoming effective in the Croatian battlefield at noon tomorrow (10:00 GMT), September 18.

Reporter Describes Intensified Vukovar Fighting

AU1709210291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Milena Markovic report from Vukovar]

[Text] Croatian fighters in Vukovar do not respect any truce. When everyone was reporting that an agreement was reached in Igalo on an end to clashes in Croatia, the defenders of Croatia, members of the Corps of the

National Guard, the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs, and armed civilians, pushed out from their strong positions in the village of Bogdanovci from Mitnica and attacked the Vukovar barracks with mortars. The attack lasted for a full three hours. During the attack some 100 grenades fell on the barracks. Infantry weapons were also used.

Twenty-eight members of the Yugoslav People's Army and the reservists were wounded. They were taken to Negoslavci where they were given medical treatment. Those seriously wounded were taken by helicopters to the military medical academy in Belgrade.

It has been established that in these clashes, Tudjman's mercenaries used the banned dum-dum and [luger] bullets. At the same time the units stationed on the outskirts of the town were also fiercely attacked. The Corps of the National Guard and the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and armed civilians, united in their hatred of the Yugoslav People's Army and everything Yugoslav, are also using inhumane weather-controlling rockets launched from trucks and other vehicles and from empty homes. This is hampering the operations of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Also, the Army failed to act effectively today because of (?uncoordinated) command of units. During the fierce attack the communications system did not function. The infantry reinforcement of reservists from Novi Sad also came unarmed.

As I am reporting, the forces of the Corps of the National Guard and armed civilians that were pushed out of Bogdanovci and Mitnica are concentrated around the safety zone around the barracks and are opening fire on the Army positions in the barracks. They are using all available means, including light arms, mortars, and sniper fire.

Air Force Claims Successful Croatia Operations

LD1709162291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The anti-aircraft defense command announced today that the air force of the Yugoslav People's Army carried out a successful operation in the regions of Osijek, Krizevaca, Sisak, Sibenik, Drnis, Sinj and the island of Zirje, in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The command press release indicated that the objectives targetted were selected very carefully. The aviation was set into motion to support the navy and the infantry in their attempts to unblock the barracks and Yugoslav People's Army facilities which were attacked last night and this morning by the Croatian forces. The operations are continuing, the press release further said.

The anti-aircraft defense command denied today information broadcast on Croatian TV and radio about the raiding of towns in Croatia. Civilian buildings are not targetted, but exclusively units of the Croatian forces, the command announced.

In the city of Zagreb, two air raid alerts were announced, but both were false. Air alert sirens, the Croatian radio reported, were sounded in Osijek, Varzdin, Ogulin, Sibenik, Daruvar and Virovitica, as well as in Krizevci, Novska and several other small localities in Croatia.

Croatian Guard Forces 'Routed' in Dalmatia

LD1809053291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2358 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Knin, September 17 (TANJUG)—Chief of Staff of the Knin Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Colonel Ratko Mladic told TANJUG that units of the Croatian Guard Corps attacked a JNA unit at about 23:00 hrs local time today in Drnis, central Dalmatia.

According to Colonel Mladic, until this clash there had been a temporary lull in the central Dalmatian battlefield—a 150 km stretch from Novigrad to Sibenik.

Although Croatian Defence Minister Luka Bebic this afternoon issued an order on the deblockade of all military facilities, the National Guard forces in the region of the village Polaca, near Benkovac, 'attacked units of the Knin Corps with strong fire from all weapons,' Colonel Mladic said.

The Yugoslav Army units at Polaca 'returned fire full force', Colonel Mladic said.

The National Guard forces were 'routed, and a large part was destroyed,' Colonel Mladic said, and added that the corps units did not suffer any losses.

Telephone lines with Croatia and other western parts of the country are still cut, so that there are no reports about this from official Croatian sources yet.

Reform Forces President Comments on Crisis

AU1709120291 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with Ivan Djuric, president of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Serbia, by Zoltan Szalai in Budapest; date not given: "Independence and Autonomy Are the Way Out"]

[Text] Ivan Djuric is participating in the social democratic conference on Eastern-Central European transition held in Budapest. Imre Szokai, deputy state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, received Ivan Djuric on 13 September. In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Ivan Djuric expressed his opinion about the Yugoslav crisis:

[Djuric] Our party does not support the idea of a Yugoslav federation. Our position is close to that of the European Community: A future Yugoslavia should be a

federation of sovereign parts, and this sovereignty only has limits deriving from the voluntary participation in that federation. Another principle is that every national minority within each individual member republic or unit should enjoy a broad autonomy, even a territorial autonomy, something that would also guarantee certain administrative separation, in addition to cultural rights. All this could be easily implemented in all places where a national minority makes up the majority of the population. The question is what to do in cases when other national minorities are also present in big numbers, like in the case of Zagreb that also has a big Serbian population. Naturally, it is practically impossible to implement such an autonomy for the Serbs in Zagreb. In these cases, greater care should be given to the implementation of individual rights. Only a joint assertion of all these principles could bring a solution to the present Yugoslav crisis.

[Szalai] What about the creation of an independent Croatia?

[Djuric] I do no believe in Tito's Yugoslavia. Moreover, I was one of the few Yugoslav intellectuals who expressed their belief. However, the collapse of a state model does not necessarily mean that this state's territory should also break up into various parts. We must find an adequate formula to preserve the unity of this territory. For my party, a federation of sovereign states is such a formula. Europe will only recognize the sovereignty of individual member states if implemented within the framework of a greater unity.

[Szalai] Do your principles also apply to the Vojvodina Hungarians?

[Djuric] Of course, the same basic principles also apply to the Hungarian minority. As I said before, these principles should be regarded as guidelines not only for the Serbs but also for all the other national minorities living in Yugoslavia. For example, in Serbia we must consider the Muslims, Hungarians, and Albanians. If we want the rights of the Serbian minority to be guaranteed, we must also guarantee the rights of the non-Serbian minority living in Serbia according to the very same principles. The problem is that Mr. Milosevic and his party depend on this war, and they live on this war.

[Szalai] What is your opinion about the Serbian accusations according to which Hungary allegedly sent arms to Croatia recently, in spite of the current embargo? Do you personally believe in this?

[Djuric] The problems connected with the Yugoslav Army originate from two factors. First: Most officers of the Yugoslav Army are Serbs. This is not good. Second: This is an army based on ideology. In Croatia, this Army is clearly regarded as a Serbian force. The neutralization of the Army would help all of us solve problems. In connection with the Hungarian supply of arms, all I can say is that, if the Yugoslav Defense Ministry makes such allegations, it must prove them.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Wants EC To Extend Observer Activities

LD1709172391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic today sent a letter to all EC foreign ministers informing them of a Presidency decision that calls on the EC to extend its observer missions activities to the Bosnia-Hercegovina border zones.

EC observers would be stationed, the letter says, in border zones where "buffer zones" would be set up. Safety of the observer mission members would be guaranteed by republican and local authorities.

Bosnian Citizens Protest Attack from Slavonia

AU1709164791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Zivko Savkovic report]

[Excerpts] The Army garrison in Slavonski Brod surrendered last night as a result of what appears to be an agreement between the communal authorities of Bosanski Brod, the authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and some Army officials, so that the commune of Bosanski Brod would allegedly be saved. It appears that this was an unfair deal because the Commune of Bosanski Brod was not saved.

Last night, over 30 grenades were fired on four Serbian villages around Bosanski Brod from Slavonski Brod, that is, its outskirts. Fortunately there were no casualties, but some damage was inflicted.

Today, two groups of citizens, first about 10 people from Lijesje, and then some 50 citizens from Vinska, and Gornji and Donji (?Lokar), visited the president of the communal assembly, Mirko Jelinic. They did not talk for long. The president tried to justify his actions and the actions of the republican government headed by Jure Pelivan. However, the citizens said that they did not come for talks but to tell him that the citizens of all Serbian villages wanted information on concrete and adequate protection to be issued by tomorrow, that is to say, by 1800 tonight. If this is not provided, the communal leadership led by Mirko Jelinic would bear the full responsibility for what happens later.

The president of the Executive Council of the Communal Assembly, Mihajlo Sremac, who also briefly attended this meeting, told the citizens: Go to your villages and prepare shelters; you know how to defend your lives and homes. [passage omitted]

We have unofficially learned from reliable sources that there were no fatalities in the clashes between members of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Croatian fighters

in Slavonski Brod, but that eight members of the Yugoslav People's Army were wounded and nine are missing. While we are reporting, short barrage fire and individual shots are heard around the barracks in Slavonski Brod. It appears that the Croatian fighters are searching the area, looking for the missing members of the Yugoslav People's Army. All military officers and their families are in an unenviable position as Radio Slavonski Brod stated that following the fall of the barracks there is no place for military officers and their families in Croatia, and this means in Slavonski Brod, too.

Bosnia Pronounces Krajina Autonomy Illegal

LD1709193291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina (BIH) described at today's session the decision of the declaration of the autonomous region of Krajina on its territory as unconstitutional and illegal. A press release issued after the session points out that the decision has no legal power.

The so-called autonomous region of Krajina which will be an "inseparable part of the federal state of the federal Yugoslavia and of the federal unit of BIH" was declared last night by the assembly of the regional association of communes of Bosanska Krajina.

That region of BIH, of a majority Serbian population, is near the so-called autonomous region of Krajina in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where Serbs are also in majority. That autonomous region is not recognized by the Croatian authorities.

In the multi-national Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Muslims account for 43.77 percent of the population, Serbs 31.46 percent, Croats 17.34 percent, and the ruling coalition in power is made up of the Party for Democratic Action which gathers Muslims, the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Community.

The Party for Democratic Action condemned today the formation of the autonomous region of Krajina on the territory of BIH, and the leader of the Croatian Democratic Community for BIH, Stjepan Kljujic, warned at a press conference that if the formation of so- called regions is continued, the Croatian Democratic Community will propose a model of a community between BIH, Croatia and Slovenia.

The Yugoslav republics of Croatia and of Slovenia have adopted decisions of secession.

Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija Proclaimed

AU1809092491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] The assembly of the community of Romanija communes today adopted a decision to proclaim the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Romanija which consists of the communes of Pale, Sokolac, and Han Pijesak. The SAO of Romanija is an inalienable part of the federal state of a federative Yugoslavia and an integral part of the federal unit of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Leader of Bosnian Serbs Optimistic About Peace

AU1809082191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Taking part in the Radio Trebinje phone-in program today, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, expressed the view that interparty agreements can eliminate all the reasons that exist in the republic for a war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Milivoje Bekan reports from Trebinje:

[Bekan] Answering the question of whether an all-out war in our country could be avoided and whether Bosnia-Hercegovina will be the next one to experience fighting, Dr. Radovan Karadzic said:

[Begin Karadzic recording] I think that an all-out war can be avoided. I think that the talks that we held with the Muslim Bosniak Organization and the Party of Democratic Action will completely eliminate reasons for fighting that exist in Bosnia or Bosnia-Hercegovina. I cannot say whether we will eliminate the reasons for fighting that exist outside, because this does not depend on us.

If we achieve what we want here, that is to say, guarantees that no nation will attack another nation and that no nation will impose its will on another nation, then there will be no reason for fighting.

Mr. Kljujic, [head of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina], once said that if something happens, the Croats will stage a rebellion against Serbs. I replied to him publicly and privately that he did not have a chance of staging an uprising against Serbs, because we will never come to your communes, to the communes in which you constitute a majority, and impose our will on you. Therefore, we can agree about everything. Why should we wage wars now? [end recording]

[Bekan] Talking about the current political [words indistinct] federation and added that the wishes for a greater Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, or Serbia are unrealistic and cannot be realized. This is why all extreme aspirations should be abandoned, because they imply one nation imposing solutions on another, and this in turn means the use of force.

We will try, Dr. Karadzic said, to find a solution that would suit all three nations best. If we fail in this, then we will try to ensure that every nation finds the best solution for themselves, and in this way, [words indistinct] in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which otherwise exist in

both spiritual and cultural respects, the Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim, and that they even assume their own contours and shape in the territorial sense.

Dr. Karadzic also expressed the view that such democratization and federalization would consolidate Bosnia-Hercegovina and save it from divisions and disintegration.

Macedonia

Council Bans Army Reserve Mobilization

LD1709161491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Skopje, 17 September (TANJUG)—The anti-Army attitude in Macedonia has reached a peak. The Republican Council for National Defense today adopted a decision which bans the mobilization of Yugoslav People's Army reservists and which demands that all Macedonian soldiers return from other parts of Yugoslavia to this republic. Soldiers' parents are still protesting.

Policy Rejects Participation in Conflict

LD1709195591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1628 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Skopje, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The official stand and policy of the republic of Macedonia is that it renounces the war in Yugoslavia since it is an inter-ethnic clash in which the republic does not wish to take part. For this reason recruits from Macedonia should not be sent to the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) until the war in the country ends. This is the essence of the conclusions announced today after yesterday's session of the republic's national defence council.

The council is also of the view that in line with the already achieved agreement with the command of the third army district, soldiers from Macedonia who have been sent to other parts of Yugoslavia to serve their military term, be returned to their home republic in order to finish their military service.

Macedonian conscripts should not be called in for drills until the end of war activities in Yugoslavia, believes the national defence council, which will aquaint the country's leadership with these stands as well as the European Community and parliament.

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov today informed the parents of soldiers about yesterday's conclusions of the republican council [words indistinct] who seeking the return of their sons, forced their way into the hall of the republican assembly.

He underscored that the taking of soldiers from barracks in Macedonia to crisis regions is not in line with the agreement between the republican leadership and JNA leadership.